

311
578 achieved by the relatively unlimited possibilities of *chinampa* agriculture.

729 The Tenochcas supplemented their land hunger by an-
728 other means. In conquered territories successful warriors
471 received grants of land which were worked by members of the defeated tribe. Small colonies sometimes lived off this

[428] land to guard against revolt in the subjugated area. Such property passed from father to son, but if there were no heir it reverted to the tribal authority, not the clan in which the tenant had membership. Other such land must have been held for the benefit of the religious organization. Thus the central authority of Tenochtitlan, and presumably Texcoco as well, held considerable property to support the elaborate pomp of Church and State without straining the resources of the tribesmen. The relative fluidity of such real estate gave the tribal authority a wherewithal to adjust inequalities and dissatisfactions among the more ambitious tribal members. Naturally, as the Aztec peoples were less highly developed socially than ourselves, they did not attain our own elaborate system of rewards and adjustments by means of federal, state and municipal appointments.*

651 A powerful Aztec tribe had another source of support: tribute. The levies often consisted of foodstuffs and raw materials, both native and foreign to the Valley, and also included warriors' and priests' costumes, mantles, pottery and other articles of craftsmanship. Distributed throughout the community these goods enriched both communal enterprise and private convenience.* (See Plates 62, bottom right; 64.)

436 Manufacture and trade were beginning to play an im-
438 portant part in Aztec economy, although not to the extent
32 of societies which have developed media of exchange, like

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PLATE 64
AZTEC WRITING

A page from the Tribute Roll of Montezuma (after Spinden, 1928). The tributary towns are in the columns at bottom and right, designated by numbers. The goods comprised: (a) two strings of jade beads; (b) 20 gourd dishes of gold dust; (c) a royal headdress; (d) 800 bunches of feathers; (e) 40 bags of cochineal dye; (f-g) 2 warriors' costumes; (h) 402 cotton blankets of this pattern; (i) 400 blankets; (j) 404 blankets; (k) 400 blankets; (l) 400 blankets. Note the use of fingers for units, flags for twenties and treelike signs for four hundreds. The sign for eight thousand may be found on Plate 62 (bottom right) in the top left-hand corner, designating the number of containers of honey.

[p. 208(D)]

174quest at first. Later civil disintegration caused the Toltec decline, and the character of the Valley was transformed. Formerly, tribes had slowly grown in numbers until dense occupation of a previously unpopulated territory took place. But in the Chichimec period men were driven from their home territories by various factors, of which overpopulation may have been one, vague unrest another, and set out in search of new land. While the goal of each group of immigrants may well have been to settle and farm in peaceful isolation, the very process of movement must have brought war and consequent readjustments in the social organization.

642 Throughout Chichimec times and into the Aztec period as well, the political unit was a tribe, dwelling in its own village, supported by its own land. Even though a tribe might grow to thousands of members, the village become transformed into a city-state, and the communal lands cease to support the population, no real shift in political organization took place. No leader developed the concept of empire so successfully applied by the Incas of Peru. The group experience of the Indians was to colonize new land but, with perhaps the sole exception of Peru, never to incorporate, through conquest, weaker communities into their own tribe.

167 However, when the tribe became too unwieldy to migrate en masse, an adjustment had to be made between population and food supply. One method was for part of the population to break away and join another community whose economic resources were relatively unexploited. As an illustration we have the case of the Chimalpanecs and the Culhuas, who joined the nascent community of Texcoco to the vast benefit of its material and intellectual culture.²

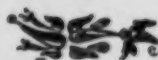
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The more usual means of adjusting food supply to popula-

tion was the exaction of tribute from richer and weaker neighbors. (See Plate 29, top row; Fig. 1.) Quinatzin of Texcoco instituted the system first in the northern Valley in the early fourteenth century, and it is an interesting point to speculate as to whether or not the Chimalpanec immigrants suggested this as a practice found successful in their homeland. Quinatzin, by force of arms or by persuasion, induced a number of towns to turn over to him supplies of various sorts. The local chiefs recognized him as an overlord but maintained a complete political independence. He, in turn, granted the vassal chiefs the full measure of his military support. Yet these vassals had no sense of loyalty and were quite ready to revolt or transfer their allegiance to a stronger suzerain.² (See Plate 42, top.)

When Tezozomoc of Azcapotzalco saw his tribe develop to the point where it had to expand he found the southern Valley overpopulated, so that he had to challenge the power of Texcoco. His first move was to create disaffection in the vassal states, after which he could move against his rivals with good hope of military success. Yet so light was Tezozomoc's tenure of control that it was relatively easy for the conquered tribes to combine later and wreck his domination.

Alliances like that formed by Texcoco, Tenochtitlan and Tacuba were so very rare that much is made of this combination as an example of the excellence of Aztec statecraft. It would seem that the division of spoils, two parts each to the larger states, and one part to Tlacopan, was in force only for that campaign. Later Texcoco and Tenochtitlan undertook wars for their mutual advantage, but there was constant intrigue in the hope that one of the two could overcome the other and derive the full benefits of the booty taken. By the



The sixth month they called Etzqualiztli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the rain gods. In honor of these gods, the priests of these gods fasted before their feast came for four days, which are the four last days of the previous month.

Chapter 6 Etzqualiztli

In order to celebrate this feast, the priests and servants of the idols went to Citlaltepec for reeds; for they grew very large and handsome in the waters called Temilco. From there they brought them to Mexico to adorn the pyramids. On the road which they took, no one appeared; all wayfarers hid themselves, for fear of them. And if they came upon one, they took from him whatever he had, even leaving him naked. And if he resisted, they belabored him such that they left him for dead. And even if he bore tribute for Moctezuma, they took it from him. And for this they visited upon them no punishment; because, since they were servants of the idols, they had license to do these things, and others [even] worse, with no punishment. Many other ceremonies the priests of the temple performed in these four days, which are put forth at length in the account of the feast.

On the arrival of the feast of Etzqualiztli, everyone made a kind of gruel or porridge which is called *etzalli* (a delicious food, which they liked well). All ate in their houses, and gave [of it] to those who came, and did a thousand follies on this day.

On this same feast, they punished terribly servants of the idols guilty of committing some fault in their service; [they mishandled] them in the water of the lagoon to such a point that they left them for dead. And thus they left them there at the edge of the water. From there their parents or relatives took them and carried them to their houses, half dead.

On this same feast they slew many captives and

Al sexto mes llamauan Etzqualiztli: en el primero día deste mes: hazian fiesta a los dioses de la lluvia: a honrra destes dioses, ayunauā los sacerdotes destes dioses: quatro días antes de llegar a su fiesta, que son los quatro postreros días del mes pasado.

Cap. 6.

1 g KL. Etzqualiztli. g 13

2 A Para la celebracion desta fiesta: los A 14

3 b satrapas de los ydolos y sus mñjstros, b 15

4 c yvā por junças a Citlaltepec: que se c 16

5 d hazē muy grādes y muy hermosas en d 17

6 e vn agua que se llama temilco, de alli e 18

7 f las trayan a Mexico: para adornar los f 19

8 g cues, por el camjño donde venjā, nadie g 20

9 A parecia: todos los camjñātes se ab- A 21

10 b scordian de mjedo dellos, y si con b 22

11 c alguno encōtrauā: tomauāle quito c 23

12 d traya hasta dexalle en pelo, y si se d 24

13 e defendia: maltratauāle de tal manera e 25

14 f q̄ le dexauā por muerto: y aunque f 26

15 g lleuasē el tributo para Motecuōma se g 27

16 A le tomauan: y por esto njnguna pena A 28

17 b las dauā: porque por ser mñjstros de b 29

18 c los ydolos, tenjā libertad para hazer c 30

19 d estas cosas, y otras peores sin pena njn- d 31

20 e guna. Otras muchas cerimonjas hazian e 1'

los satrapas del templo en estos quatro días que estan a la larga puestas en la historia desta fiesta.

Allegada la fiesta de Etzqualiztli: todos hazia vna manera de puchas o poleadas que se llama Etzalli (comjda delicada a su guiso) todos comjan en su casa, y dauan a los que venjan, y hazian mñll locuras en este día.

En esta mesma fiesta, a los mñjstros de los ydolos que avian hecho algun defecto en el serujcio dellos: castigauālos terriblemēte en el agua de la laguna tāto que los dexauā por muertos: y así los dexauā alli a la orilla del agua: de alli los tomauā sus padres o parientes, y los lleuauā a sus casas medio muertos.

En este mñmo mes matauā muchos catiuos y otros

1. *Mingolāi mōmōmōi jōmōi* de *ellos* con.

561 them with a cord, or they stoned them, or before
681 the people they beat them with wooden [staves], so
that they were slain. Thus the ruler implanted fear.¹¹

251 FIFTH PARAGRAPH, where is told how they
stored all the food.

Petlacalco: there was stored all the food. Dried
maize grains thus were kept in wooden grain bins;
more than two thousand [measures of] grains of
dried maize—a store of twenty years for the city. And
in wooden storage bins were dried beans, chía, ama-
ranth seeds, wrinkled chía, salt jars, coarse salt, bas-
kets of chilis, baskets of squash seeds, and large
squash seeds. And there was kept the jail, the
[697] wooden cage,¹² where they imprisoned and confined
evildoers.

624 SIXTH PARAGRAPH, in which is described the
house of the majordomos and stewards.

Calpixcalli:¹³ or Texcancalli: there assembled all the
majordomos and tribute gatherers. There they were
lodged [to await the command of the ruler, (lest) he
require something, or] to bring down and put in
order that which was their trust as tributes, [and
there they arranged in order the various foods]
which every day they gave the ruler. And if the ruler
knew something ill of a majordomo, perchance of
something he stole from the tributes; or that all his
charge, the tributes, perhaps did not equal the correct
count when all his store was tallied and examined;
then he jailed the majordomo in a wooden cage; he
extracted the penalty, that he die. Then he cast out
his women [and his children from his home]. Then
quickly the house of the majordomo was closed up,
and all his goods remained in the house. All belonged
to the ruler.

565 Coscalli: there were established all the lords from
574 everywhere—friends of the ruler, and all the lords
431 unfriendly to him. He gave and bestowed upon them
344 all manner of costly goods: valuable capes and breech
clouts, golden lip plugs, golden ear plugs, green stone
lip plugs, green stone necklaces, and green stone
bracelets.

IC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtóa injr
quijpíaisa in jxquich qualonj.

Petlacalco, vncan mopíaisa, in jxquich qualonj, in
tlaoilli, injc mopíaisa quauhqueztomatl, amo çan
macuiztonitl, vncatca tlaotl: cempoalxihuatl, in
jctzon altepetl, ioan quauhqueztomatl mamasna
in etl, in çhian, in ouuhtl, in çhianxototl, izacomitl,
iztaxalli, çhilpetlatl, aioxachpetlatl, quauhaioacatl:
ioan vncan mopíaisa in teipilcalli, quauhcalli, in
vncan quimilpíaisa, quincalzaquaisa tlalacoan.

IC CHIQUACEN PARRAPHO, vncá mjtóa: in
jnchan mayordomos in calpixque.

Calpixcalli, texcancalli, vncá cenquijçia: in jxquich
calpixquj, ioan tequijquj, vncan tecpanoia injc [qui-
tlatolchixticateca tlatoan, aço tlein quinequj, aço]
tlein qujtemoa qujncanhuaticatca, in tlein inpiel
tlalacaqujlli, [yoan vncan qujncanquixtiaya y nepa-
pan tlaqualli,] in momoztlac qujmacaia tlatoan.
Auh intlá tlatoan, itla qujmachili, ce calpixquj, aço
itla qujncanhuaticatca tlalacaqujlli: ioan in jxquich
in jpiel, in tlalacaqujlli: açacom çací in tlapozitl: in
jçoaç mopoa, mocxitoca, in jxquich in jpiel: njman
quauhcalco qujtlalia, in calpixquj: qujtzacutinh,
mjquj, njman qujncanquixtia, in jçioahoaç [yoan
in ipilhoan yn ichan]: njman içihua motzaca, in jcal
calpixquj ioan in jxquich in jtlatquj, calitc onoc:
moch itech compotl tlatoan.

Coscalli vncan tecpanoia, in jxquichtin, noujian
tlatoque: in jçijnhoan tlatoan, ioan in jxquichtin,
iauhoaç tlatoque: qujncanhuaticatca, qujntlahuaticatca,
in jxquich tlaotl, in tlaotlmatl, in tlaotlmaxtlatl,
in teucujlatentel, in teucujlanacochtli, in çhalchiuh-
teentel, in çhalchiuhconcatl, in çhalchiuhmacuerti.

11. At the end of this paragraph, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS contains an account of the Calmécac, which is lacking in the Florentine Codex. (See Appendix A.)

12. Teipilcalli, quauhcalli: Orozco y Berra, op. cit., I, pp. 268-269, writes: "Las prisiones eran de dos especies. La llamada teipilcalli, lugar de preso, en que estaban detenidos los delinquentes de poca lealtad; el quauhcalli, casa de madera, especie de jaula fuerte de hierro, en que se guardaban las condenadas á la muerte y prisioneros de guerra destinados al sacrificio."

13. In the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, these passages appear which are not in the Florentine Codex. Because they change the sense to a degree, they are here inserted in brackets.

And when they already were to rise against the city to destroy it, first was awaited remotely the moment when fire flared up—when the priests brought forth [new] fire—and for the blowing of shell trumpets, when the priests blew them.

And when the fire flared up, then as one arose all the warriors. War cries were raised; there was fighting. They shot fiery arrows into the temples.

And when they first took a captive, one fated to die, forthwith they slew him there before the gods; they slashed his breast open with a flint knife.

And when the city had been overcome, thereupon were counted as many captives as there were, and as many Mexicans and Tlatilulcans as had died. Then they appraised the ruler that they had been orphaned for the sake of Uitzilpochtli; that men had been taken captive and been slain. And the ruler then commanded the high judges to go to tell and inform all in the homes of those who had gone to die in war, that there might be weeping in the homes of those who had gone to war to die. And they informed those in the homes of as many as had gone to take captives in war that they had received honors there because of their valor. And they were rewarded according to their merits; the ruler accorded favors to all—costly capes, breech cloths, chocolate, food, and devices, and lip rods and ear plugs. Even more did the ruler accord favors to the princes if they had taken captives. He gave them the offices of stewards, and all wealth without price—honor, fame, renown.

And if some had done wrong in battle, they then and there slew them on the battlefield; they beat them, they stoned them.

And if several claimed one captive, and one man said, "He is my captive," and another man also said, "He is my captive": if no man verified it, and also if no one saw how they had taken the captive, the lord of the sun decided between them. If neither had an advantage of the two who claimed the captive, then those who had taken four captives, the masters of the captives, decided that to neither one would the captive belong. He was dedicated to the Uitzcalco⁴ [or] they left him to the tribal temple, the house of the devil.

And when the city which they had destroyed was attained, at once was set the tribute, the impost. [To the ruler who had conquered them] they gave that

ponix: inje tlequauhtlaça tlamaçazque: ioñ in tlapitzalli in tenciatli, in ocquijitzque tlamacazque:

726

ioan in ocuæpon tletl, njman ie cemeoa, in jxquich iauquisqui, motempapauja, mical, quitlemjna in teucalli.

Auh in achto in caçi malli in maliaçat, çan njman vncan, imjxpan qujmjetia, in tetu, teczatica quelte-tequi.

Auh in jcoac ompoliuh alsepetl, njmā ie ie nemal-poaho, in quetxquich malli: ioan in quexquich omjç mexicat, in tlatilulcatl, njman muchi qujcaqujia in tlatoanj, inje tepal oicnopiltic vizilobuchtlī inje otlamaloc, ioan omjcoac: auh in tlatoanj njman qujnnaoia, in tecutlatoque: inje qujtemachtituij, inje qujtecaqujtituij, in jnchan in jzqujnti, oiaumj-qujto, inje choqujilozque in jnchachan, in oiaumj-qujto: ioan qujtecaqujia in jnchan, in quexquj otlamato iauç, ie vncan qujçujia in maujizotl, in jpampa ocqujchietl: idan qujmomaceujia in jxquich iticneliaia in tlatoanj, in tlaçotilmatl, in maxlatl, in atl, tlaqualli, ioan tlauijatl, iqa tēçacatl, nacochtlī: oc cenca qujmjencliaia in tlaçotipilti, in tlatoanj intla otlamato, qujmaca calpixcanti: ioan in jxquich tlaçotli necujitonolli, in maujizotl, in tleiotl, in teiotl.

727

[555]

Auh intla acame qujtlaçoa iauioçl, njman vmpa qujmjetia in iauç qujvuijitequi, qujntetepachoa.

687

Auh intla acame, qujmocujçujia ce malli, qujroa ce tlaçat, ca nomal, in oc ce tlaçat no qujto ca nomal: intlaçamo ce tlaçat itech nelti, aiaç no qujm-jetac, in quenjn tlamague: iehoantin qujntlatzontequjia, in tonatiuh itlatocahoan: aiaç tle onqujça in jmomextin in qujmocujçujia in malli: iuh qujtzon-tequi, in quauhtlatoque, in mallatogue, aiaç ce itech pouhquj ien in malli: vizicalli qujpoaia, calpolco qujçaoia, in jchan tlaçateculotl.

727

Auh in jcoac oiaxioac altepetl in ovmpoliuh, njman iocac moçalia, in tequjtl, in tlaçalaqujili itech mana in tlein vmpa muchina, auh njman no iquac iquçue-

728

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4. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 381-382, referring to the service of Cuauhtē, whom *donna* brought and died in sacrifice: "Eso era en el patio del templo que se dice Uitzcalco."

728 which was there made. And likewise, forthwith a
 651 steward was placed in office, who would watch over
 and levy the tribute.

SECOND PARAGRAPH, in which it is described
 how they chose judges.

643 The ruler watched especially over the trials; he
 693 heard all the accusations and the complaints, the
 565 afflictions, and the misery of the common folk, the
 orphans, the poor, and the vassals.

And in order that the ruler might verify one's
 accusations and guilt, there were placed in office, and
 [the ruler] chose, as his judges, the princes, those
 who were endowed with the necessities of life, those
 provided with drink and food—the rich; and the
 brave warriors and men [at arms], who had been
 reared in war and had gloried in all kinds of suffer-
 ing and misery. In all things had their upbringing,
 their rearing, been sound. In their infancy they had
 been taught [according to] the upbringing in the
 priests' house, or the rearing by the masters of the
 youths, growing up with others, living in the [same]
 houses as others, engaging in war, taking captives.

And likewise the ruler thus chose and placed in
 office judges of the Mexicans who were not noble-
 men—those of sound and righteous upbringing, who
 had been reared in war: brave warriors and men [at
 arms] who in many ways had won glory by the favor
 of the ruler. By his grace they drank and ate. He
 gave them contentment and he gave them gifts; he
 bestowed upon them whatsoever they needed.

[577] Such as these the ruler gave office and chose as his
 judges—the wise, the able, the sage; who listened
 and spoke well; who were of good memory; who
 spoke not vainly nor lightly; who did not make
 friends without forethought nor were drunkards;
 who guarded their lineage with honor; who slept
 not overmuch, [but rather] arose early; who did
 nothing for friendship's or kinship's sake, nor for
 enmity; who would not hear nor judge a case for
 a fee. The ruler might condemn them to death;
 [681] hence they performed their offices as judges right-
 eously. For otherwise, these judges could find excuse
 for the wrongs which they might do.

And when the ruler placed his judges in office, he
 gave them two court rooms, the Teccalli, where they

tzalo in calpixqui, in qujmocujtlauij, in jpan tlatoa
 in tlacalquilli.

INJC VME PARRAPHO: ipan mjtóa, in qumjn
 qujnpepenaia luezes.

In tlatoanj oc cenca qujmocujtlauija in tetlatzon-
 tequjiliztli, qujcaqua in jxqujch in jnetelhuji: ioan
 in jchoqujz, in jnentlamachiliz in jnetolinliz in
 cujtlapilli, atlapalli in jnetolacatl, in motolinja in
 maçoalli:

suh injc uel qujneltiaia in tlatoanj in tenetelhuji
 anoço tetlatlacul qujmjxquetzaia, qujnpepenaia in
 jtecutlatocahoan: iehoantin in tlapipilti, in tlaiccul-
 tilo in onci in qujn, in qujquanj, in mocujltonoa,
 ioan tiacaoan, oqujchti, in iauc omozcaltique, mjic
 tlamäti teccoco netolinliztli, oqujmaujcoque: suh in
 jxquj tlamantli qualli neoapaoliztli, nezcaliliztli, in
 jnpiltian oqujmomachtique, in calmecac neoapaol-
 iztli, in tiachcapa neoapaoliztli, in tetlan neoapaol-
 iztli, in calpan tetlan nemjiliztli, isaujcaliztli,
 tlamaliztli.

Auh çan no iuhçtli, injc qujnpepenaia tlatoanj,
 inic qujmjxquetzaia in tecutlatoque, in mexicana, in
 amo pipilti iehoantin in qualli iectli, inneoapaoliz,
 innezcaliliz, in iauc omozapaouhque, in tiacahoan
 in oqujchti, in mjic tlamantli oqujmaujcoque,
 itecneliliz tlatoanj, in jpal atli, tlaqua, in qujnpaquj-
 tia, in qujntlauihia, ioan in qujnmaca, in jxqujch
 intech monequj:

iuhque in in qujmjxquetzaia, in qujnpepenaia
 tlatoanj, in jtecutlatocahoan, in mjmatinj, in mo-
 zcalianj, in tlanemjlianj, in vellacaquj, in vellatoa,
 in motiaolliotianj, in amo ahaujllatoa, in amo caca-
 manaloa, in amo iliuiz moocnuhtia, amo tlaonanj,
 cenca qujmaujzpia in tecoioel, amo cochinj, cenca
 cochiçanj amo tle qujcnjuhchia: amo tle qujioilca-
 chia: amo tle qujteccocicachia, amo tlaxtlaujltica
 qujcaquj, anoço qujtzontequj: qujmjqujznoatiaia,
 in tlatoanj: injc melaoc qujchioazque in jtequjoh,
 in tecutlatolli: suh intlacamo, ca iehoantin com-
 tatzucjliciaque in tecutlatoque, in tlein qujtlacoque.

Auh in jcoac, oqujmjxquetz in tlatoanj: in jtecu-
 tlatocahoan qujnmacia vntel in tlatoacalli, in tec-

5. *Interlinear edition*: cf. *ibid.*, p. 318 (for *mayeue janoa*) and p. 323 (for *moatlaue*).

sonus; bean greens²¹ and green beans; green maize, tender maize, tender maize stalks; tamales of maize blossoms, tortillas of green maize, and all edible things—tortillas, tamales, tamales and tortillas with honey, large tortillas, and rolled tortillas.

And also there were proprietors among whom were spread out smoking tubes, pipes, and cigars, [some] quite resinous and aromatic; and tobacco bowls; and large pottery braziers and hearths, and earthen basins, and pots, and jars for storing water, and settling jars, and flat cooking plates, and sauce vessels, and earthen cups, and everything [made of] earthenware.

And those who were directors of the market place, if they did not show concern over their office, were driven forth and made to abandon their office. And if someone sold stolen goods—perchance a costly cape, or a green stone,—if it were made known and he did not declare from whom he had bought that which had been stolen, they went to exact the penalty, and he died. Such was the sentence of the lords and judges, so that [men] would be fearful of that which was stolen and no one would buy it.

It was the duty of the market place folk to make the war provisions—biscuits, and finely ground, dried maize and chia seeds, and dried maize dough, and dried, lime-treated maize dough. With these was the market place charged, and the market place directors, the men and women thus appointed, were charged with assigning the tribute.

doxalcalli, ioan in jaxquich qualonj, tlaxcalli, tamalli, necutainalli, necutalcalli, vei tlaxcalli, tlaxcal-
mjmijlli.

No ioan vncatca, in tlaicacque in jpan manca
acaquajitl, acailitl, iietlalli, vel ocozoio, ioan xoch-
iocotnotl, ioan iicaxitl, ioan apantecaxitl, ioñ tle-
quaxitl, ioan apaxitl, ioan xoctli, ioan atlalilcomjtl,
ioan xaiocomjtl, ioan comalli, ioan molcaxitl, ioan in
coqujtecumatl, ioñ in jaxquich tlamantli coqujtlat-
qujtl.

Auh in iehoantia tianqujzpan tlaicacque, intla-
cama qujmocujtlauja, intequjtl, itotoco, ioan caoal-
tito in intequjtl. Auh intla aca tlachtectli qujnmaca,
aço tlacotilmatl, anço chalchijtl, intla oiximach-
ililol, intlacama qujnertiz in aqujn qujcohuji, in
tlein tlachtectli, qujtzacutiah, miquja, iuhquj tla-
tzontequjliaia, in tlatoque, tecutlatoque, ic mjmaca-
cia in tlein tlachtectli, aac vel qujcoiaa,

in intequjtl catca tianqujzpan tlaica qujchioia
iujtaccatl, in tlaxcaltotopochtli, ioan pinolli, ioan
texotzallli, ioan nextamalboatzallli, injc ipan tequjta
tianqujztl, ioan tianqujzpan tlaicacque, in tlaix-
quetzallli oqujchti, ioan çioa in tequjtlatoque catca.

21. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 225, describes *capuchillo* as "hueso y carne de las frijoles"; on p. 338, however, it is given as *hueso de pan de muerto*.

[p. 70 is blank]

-69-

532

[65]
[30]
292]



[778
346]



—Ajur Paso y Trehuenso

53. Tribute left for the Spaniards (Chapter 18). 54. Alvarado asks to see the Feast of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19). 55, 56. Spaniards see preparations for the Feast of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19). 57, 58. Preparation of the image of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19).

[p. 44(I)]

I. INTRODUCTION

NATURE OF THE PRESENT STUDY

THE PRESENT PAPER is the first part of a study of the empire that Cortés invaded when he set foot at Vera Cruz in 1519. This is the empire wrongly called "Aztec"—a term which the writer has considered elsewhere¹ and for which he proposes to substitute the name "Culhua Mexica." This and a second paper, to be published later, deal with the geographical extent of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica and with its division into tributary provinces. All towns that can be proved to have been subject to the Valley of Mexico in 1519 will be dealt with in the two parts of this study of Culhua Mexica. Later and more detailed portions of the larger study consider this vast Empire chronologically: how and when it came to reach its final dimensions, who dominated it at the outset and who toward the end, and so forth. The present mapping of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica is a necessary preliminary to the historical studies (in the form of local histories) which are to follow, and which are the writer's chief aim.

Great exactness is possible in mapping the Empire (see map at end of book), because of one monumental document, the *Matricula de Tributos*; its bibliography is considered in the second section of this Introduction. It is the original native tribute list, in which the payment exacted from the provinces was recorded; it is the official bookkeeping ledger of the Empire, a hardheaded, realistic document. The *Matricula* is shaped like a book, in which hieroglyphs for various towns—ranging in number from two to nearly thirty—of a province are

¹ R. H. Barlow, "Some Remarks on the term 'Aztec Empire,'" *The Americas* (1945), 344-349.

This empire was the product of a Triple Alliance among three tribes settled in the Valley of Mexico. These three tribes differed in religion, in customs, and doubtless in many other things. Their names were the Tepaneca, the Acolhuaque, and the Mexica. (The Mexica were subdivided into Tenochca and Tlatelolca.) The chief towns of each during the period of the Empire—roughly speaking, the century before the Spaniards came—were Tlacopan (Tacuba), Texcoco, and Mexico-Tenochtitlan (with Mexico-Tlatelolco active from 1438 to 1473). In 1519, the end of the native period, the Mexica of Tenochtitlan had quite overshadowed their allies, so that it is proper to call the Empire of the final period—which is the period of the present study—the Empire of the Mexica or Mexicana. But more exactly, it should be called the Empire of the Culhua Mexica, for reasons I have set forth in the above-cited paper. It is hopelessly erroneous to call it the Aztec Empire, for although the name Aztec was once applied to the Culhua Mexica, at the start of their history, they had discarded it long before founding their capital city.

114 painted along the outer and lower margins of the page, the rest of the
 128 page being taken up by the items of tribute for which these towns
 121 were jointly responsible. The place names on a given page prove to
 651 be geographically contiguous on modern maps, and so it is evident
 that the towns were regarded as a unit, as all having something in
 common. I have called each region thus indicated a "province," partly
 in order to provide some territorial division, but also because these
 groupings of towns were in some measure expressions of former
 political or linguistic units. Most of the Matlatzinca-speaking towns,
 for example, cluster on a page of their own; moreover, they were all
 conquered in a continuous campaign of a few years. These provinces
 (indicated on the map by large arabic numerals) I have named after
 the introductory glyphs, assuming the first glyph on each page to
 represent the most important town. Other available sources justify
 this. In another source, for instance, in the province I have named
 Tepequacuico, Tepequacuico is stated to be the "presidio de gente
 de guarnicion que cobravan los tributos: y recogieron de toda la cuiasca
 [Cchuixca]"; in that which I have named Coayxtlahuacan, Coayxtla-
 huacan is called "donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesta su frontera
 de gente de guerra." The borders of the provinces as they existed in
 1519 have been commented on in detail where these were adjacent to
 non-Mexican lands.

Most of these invaluable place glyphs of the *Matricula* could be read
 even if they were all we had, and they are of course the final authorities.
 The task of reading them, however, is greatly simplified by the annota-
 tions they bear; the *Matricula* itself contains scattered and not always
 reliable identifications in roman letters, and the copy of the *Matricula*
 in the *Codex Mendocino* contains a complete series of highly reliable
 ones. In order to have some norm for spelling, I have everywhere
 followed these *Mendocino* versions. There are objections to this pro-
 cedure—which gives us "Tuluca" for what is better rendered "Tolo-
 can,"—but it shows how one Indian pronounced all the names of the
 Empire before the corrupting European influences set in.

¹ *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 223.

² *PNE*, 4: 169; 4: 198 agrees. Likewise, Tochpan (Tuchpa in *Mendocino*) has seven towns, and Ixtlixochitl (*Obras históricas* [1893], II: 197) says that "La gran provincia de Tochpan se dividía en siete provincias." The fact that the initial glyph is often the only one identified in roman letters in the *Matricula* is also taken into account.

[19] of a few old people of Totolapan (San Miguel). According to the "Relación de Citaltomáua," the area in which Cuitlatec was spoken extended in the southeast as far as vanished Chiantepetec,² and fragments have been recorded by Weitlaner in coastal Atoyac.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The borders of Çihuatlan are as unclear as its linguistic features. Zacatula must have represented approximately the westerly outpost. Somewhere in the pathless mountains all along the north of Çihuatlan was the border between this province and the

[10] Tarascans and Cuitlatec. (The Cuitlatec seem to have been an entity distinct from both their powerful neighbors, Mexican and Tarascan.) A slender link through Otlatlan (modern Otatlán), in the fellow-tributary province of Tepequacuico, bound Çihuatlan to the Empire, and to the east lay the never-subdued Yopes.³

TRIBUTE

- 651 In the records of tribute presented for this and the following thirty-seven provinces, the frequency of payment is indicated as follows: one asterisk, annual; two asterisks, semiannual. The few quarterly payments ("de ochenta en ochenta días") are noted.

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* page and its copy in the *Mendocino*, the following items of tribute were exacted from the province of Çihuatlan:

CLOTHING**

- [291] 1,616 bundles⁴ of large orange mantles
- 2,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth

FOOD**

- [245] 80 loads of cacao bermejo

OTHER GOODS**

- [248] 400 bundles of cotton
- [136] 800 red seashells, like scallops

² See the preceding note. On Cuitlatec see Hendrichs, "Un estudio preliminar sobre la lengua cuitlateca de San Miguel Totolapan, Guerrero," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 329-362; Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *ibid.*, pp. 297-328, notes; and McQuown, "La fonética del cuitlateco," *ibid.* (1941), 5: 239-254.

³ See section on Tepequacuico, below.

⁴ The *Mendocino* résumé, in Spanish, has been followed throughout this study as a convenient guide on tribute. There are slight inaccuracies in the version it gives of numbers, however; the figures representing single units are consistently overlooked. Here I have corrected the figure from the erroneous "1,600."

Tribute of the component towns.—In view of the poor documentation on this whole province, all that can be gleaned concerning the tribute of the component towns is that Anecuilco and Citlaltomaú gave slaves, who were, of course, captives taken in border skirmishes (as noted in the tribute list for Zompanco in the province of Tepequacuilco), mantles, and gold dust.⁶⁵¹

2. TEPEQUACUILCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the fifteenth page of the *Matricula*, copied as folio 37^r of the *Codex Mendocino*, are listed the tributary towns of a province situated in what is now north-central Guerrero. They are headed by Tepequacuilco, which is the only town identified in roman letters in the original document, although the *Mendocino* copy identifies all. There are fourteen towns listed in the copy; the original, however, lacks the glyphs for Teloloapan and Chilacachapan, which have been mysteriously erased. The American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México," has served for the reconstruction of this province. Original and present place names appear below:

MENDOCINO

Alahuiztlā, 21
Atenanco, 8
Cocolān, 13
Cuecalān, 7
Chilacachapā, 12
Chilapan, 4
Huitzoco, 16
Ohuapā, 6
Oztoma, 19
Teloloapan, 11
Tepequacuilco, 15
Tlachmalacac, 18
Ychcatropā, 20
Yoallān, 17

MILLIONTH MAP

Alahuistlán
Atengo del Río
Cocula
Cuetzala
Chilicachapa
Chilapa
Huitzoco
Oapan
[Missing]
[No change]
Tepequacuilco
Tlachmalac
Ixcateopan
Iguala

103

All these towns have been located. To them we may add a series of border towns of lesser tributary importance, and therefore omitted ⁶³⁵

⁶⁵¹ "Al rey que era de Mexico ... le daban esclavos e mantas e oro en polvo que sacaban y lavaban de los rios a ellos cercanos." It is said, absurdly enough, that "los esclavos que ellos daban al dicho Montezuma eran para que los dichos Mexicanos comiesen" (PNL, 6: 198).

635 and its fellow Cuitlatec of the west, but we have seen that "eran de
632 Motecuma," being, indeed, a link with the uttermost western hinter-
131 land, the province of Cihuatlan.

Tlacotepec warred with southern neighbors on the coast," among them Tecpan—this latter, presumably, ceasing to be an enemy when it was subjugated to form part of the province of Cihuatlan.

Zompanco and Chilapan were strong-points on the Yope frontier."

[712] Just south of Chilapa lies Quecholtenanco, a garrison town whose glyph is in both the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* (fol. 17) accompanied by the head of one "Mixcoatl, tlacatectli governador."

Regional names.—The whole eastern part of this former province was known as Coixcatlalpan, "que quiere decir Tierra de Lagartijas porque ay muchas."¹³

● 651

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The original *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* copy specify the following tribute:

CLOTHING

[291]

402 bundles¹⁴ of mantles *colchadas*¹⁵

402 bundles of mantles striped black and white¹⁶

400 bundles of rich mantles (the drawing is of a Tlaloc-head decoration)¹⁷

400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses¹⁸

400 bundles of little white mantles¹⁹

1,600 bundles of large mantles²⁰

[714]

22 warriors' costumes (20 of the common "Huasteca" armor and 2 special pieces: one Tiger Knight and one with *quetzalpaztli* headdress)²¹

FOOD

[262]

4 *troxes* (wooden cribs), 1 each of maize, beans, *huauhtli*, and *chian*²²

[263]

200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

¹³ PNE, 6: 124: "trayan guerra con los de la costa, que era los pueblos de Tequepa, Acanaluria, Temancaltepec y otros pueblos." Tequepa (PNE, 1: No. 904) "parte terminos con Nuxco," hence is the present Tecpan.

¹⁴ PNE, 6: 318 and 5: 178. On the Yope, see Ortega, "Extensión y límites de la Provincia de los Yopes . . ." *El México Antiquo* (1940), 5: 48-53.

¹⁵ PNE, 5: 249.

¹⁶ *Relación de Igualea* (1931), p. 221.

¹⁷ The figures for this and the following item are corrected from the erroneous 400 of the *Mendocino* annotation.

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OTHER GOODS

21 651
 301
 314
 323
 325

- 5 strings of *chalchihuites*^a
- 8,000 pellets of unrefined copal and burners (quarterly)
- 400 baskets of refined copal (quarterly)
- 1,200 yellow-colored clay vessels (quarterly)
- 100 little copper hatchets (quarterly)

Tribute of the component towns.—Some idea of the way in which this burden was shared may be gathered from the following details. 651 632

Alahuiztlan "davan de trebutto mantas, maiz, chian."^m

Cueçalan gave chalchiuites annually (the string listed above?), besides mantles and other things."

Chilapan gave maize, chile, and animals important for religious reasons (ocelots and eagles)."

Otlatlan gave cotton mantles, delivering them directly to Mexico," instead of to a local depot.

Oztoma, being obliged to support the local Mexican garrison, seems to have given nothing more.

Teloloapan gave clothing of various sorts and a mineral dyestuff called "tlalcozahuil."^m [386]

Tepequacuico—as might be expected of the eponymous town—was the presidio from which most of this tribute was gathered." In colonial times, Tepequacuico became a famous mining center, and indeed, it lost its importance only when the railroad reached Iguala.

Totoltepec is said to have been another nontributary, like Oztoma, because of the garrison, but it still thought it expedient to send its overlords "gifts" of mantles, chalchiuites, and copper."

^a PNE, 6: 102.

^m "Cada vn año vna esmeralda berde que llaman ellos chalchihuitl, dauante mantas y otras cosas que tenyan" (PNE, 6: 140).

ⁿ "A Motecucuma — le servia de llevarle algunos tigres y aguilas, algun mahis y chile en reconocimiento" (PNE, 5: 178). Eagles were the sole tribute of the northern frontier province of Oxtipapan.

^o "Era de Motecucuma ... y le tributaban mantas de algodón, y ellos mysmos se las llevaban a Mexico" (PNE, 6: 128).

^p "Tributaban ... mantas y guapiles y naguas y mantillas delgadas, y tlalcozahuil que es una arenilla para hazer color amarilla, y otros colores, las quales buscaban para llevar a Mexico con el tributo, por sus tercios" (PNE, 6: 146).

^q "Tenian los señores de Mexico en este pueblo en tiempo de su gentilidad presidio de gente de guarnicion que cobravan los tributos: y recojian de toda la caisca que eran mantas y algodón y otras cosas" (Relación de Iguala [1931], p. 323).

^r "No llevaba tributo por quedavan en frontera con los de Michoacan y sustentaban los soldados que alli tenian, mexicanos, y en el fuerte de Oztoma, y — algunas veces del año cubian presente a Mexico de mantas y piedras verdes y hierro colorado" que cuben" (PNE, 6: 149).

651 Tlacotepec gave "seeds" (chian ?) among other items, which are
632 not specified."

567 Zompanco sent prisoners of war to Mexico as slaves." These must
721 have been Yope prisoners, destined to be sacrificed, like those sent from
Aneuilco in the province of Çihuatlan. Prisoners taken on the
Oztoma frontier were usually sacrificed in the temple of the fortress,
we learn, but if captives were important, they were sent to Mexico to
be sacrificed."

3. TLACHCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Tlachco, now Taxco, is depicted on the fourteenth
131 page of the *Matricula*, copied on folio 36' of the *Codex Mendocino*.
This province was situated in territory now forming the northern tip
of the State of Guerrero and contained ten towns. Whereas the *Ma-
trícula* annotator identified only the town of Tlachco, the *Mendocino*
identifies all towns in roman letters. The present map is based on the
"Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad
de México." Former and present place names as given in the *Mendo-
cino* and on the modern map are listed below:

103

MENDOCINO

Acamilyxtlahuacā, 6
Chontalcoatlan, 9
Nochtepec, 7
Teotliztacan, 2
Tetenanco (? 5)
Teticpac, 8
Tlachco, 3
Tlamacazapā, 4
Tzicapuälco, 1

MILLIONTH MAP

Acamixtla
[No change]
Nochtepec
Huiztác
[See Remarks on Towns]
Tetipac
Taxco Viejo
Tlamacazapa
Ixcapuzalco

One town has not been identified: Tepexahualco.

We may add the town of Çacualpā (10).

"Montecuma embio un capitan ... para que coxiese el tributo y semyllas que le trebu-
tavan" (PNE, 6: 123).

"Estavan sujetos a Montecuma ... y le serbia este pueblo de llevarle esclavos de los
[que] tomavan en la guerra, y que est. le llevavan en rreco.ociamiento" (PNE, 6: 317).

"Relación de Acapetlahuaya" (1579), in PNE, 6: 117: "Dixerón que todos los
presos que tomavan los sacrificaron en el templo principal del fuerte grande, y si era
persona principal la que prendian la embianan a Mexico presentada a su reey para que
alla la sacrificasen."

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

- 191 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The aborigines of the west of this province spoke "Chontal de Guerrero," a language which is commemorated in the place name Chontalcoatlán.² This little-known tongue is distinguished from Mexican, Matlatzinca, Mazatec, and Tarascan, all of which were spoken in the province,³ and was still current in the late sixteenth century in Coatepec, Chontalcoatlán, and Teticpac,⁴ as well as in towns of the adjacent province to the south.
- 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Tlachco Province was a part of the Tarascan frontier. To its south lay the hot-country province of Tepequacuilco, and to its north, Ocuilán, both of these also western frontiers. On the east was opulent Quauhnahuac.

TRIBUTE

- 651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—It is clear from the *Matricula* that the rich silver mines of later fame were ignored by the Culhua Mexica. Tlachco was a second-rate province, as we see by the list of goods remitted:

CLOTHING

- [291] 400 bundles of little cotton mantles, richly worked**
 [248] 400 bundles of women's clothing**
 [714] 1,206 bundles² of little mantles of soft henequen**
 2 warriors' costumes (a *Huasteca* and a *quetzaltsitzimil*)³

FOOD

- [263] 2 wooden cribs, one of maize, the other of chian*
 [263] 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

OTHER GOODS (quarterly)

- [323] 1,200 yellow pottery bowls
 [314] 400 little baskets of copal for incense-burners
 8,000 pellets of unrefined copal wrapped in palm leaves

- 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Tlachco itself is the only town for which itemized tribute data are available. It remitted men's cotton mantles (measurements are given) and women's skirts and blouses,

² "Son los antiguos de la tierra" (PNE, 6: 143).

³ PNE, 6: 263; GPM, p. 135.

⁴ PNE, 6: 100, 118; GPM, p. 127.

⁵ Corrected from 1,200.

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one from each household. These mantles were paid locally on each of the eighteen fiestas of the year. Maize for tribute was grown on special lands."

4. OCUILAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 12 of the *Matricula* and on folio 34' of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Ocuilan, which now forms part of the southern portion of the State of Mexico. Only the *cabecera* is identified in the former document; the latter bears all names added in roman letters. The map which has been followed in restoring the province is the 1:200,000 map of the "Estado de México," Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1927). Original and present place names are listed below:

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP
Coatepec, 3	Coatepec Harinas
Ocuilan, 7	[No change]
Tenantzincio, 6	Tenancingo
Tequaloyan, 5	Tecualoya (Villa Guerrero)
Tonatiuhco, 4	Tonatico

One town remains to be located: Cincozcac.

To this list the two westerly towns of Zoltepec (2) and Temazcaltepec (1) have been added, on the authority of their sixteenth-century relaciones."

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cincozcac is cited by Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 528) as Zicozcatlan, a town figuring in Ahuizotl's Guerrero campaigns.

The proper form Zoltepec, from *zollin*, "quail," has been restored with the authority of these relaciones."

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Sahagún tells us that "those who are called Ocuiltecos live in the region of Toluca, on their lands and boundaries. They have the same ways and customs of those of Toluca,

"PNE, 6: 276: "Tributaban al rey de México y generalmente daban mantas de tres brazos de largo y una vara de ancho, de algodón, y entre dos tributarios casados un guipil y unas enaguas ... Hazian una sementera grande entre todo el pueblo e lo que della coxian lo juntauan estos gobernadores y la dauan cada año a Montecuma, y las mantas dauan de veynte a veynte dias."

"Relación de Saltepec": "heran" sujetos a los reyes de México a los quales tributavan." "Relación de Temazcaltepec": "eran en tiempo de su gentilidad sujetos a un señor de México." PNE, 7: 11 and 30.

"PNE, 7: 101: "por los muchos codornices que ay se nonbraron así."

"Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España (1938), III: 128.

197 but their language is different. They used to practice curses and sorcery
 [789] very much." The Ocuiltec language is said by Ingeniero Weitlaner,
 101 who rediscovered it, to be related to Matlatzinca and Otomí," spoken
 near by. Although the Ocuiltec language is supposed to be limited
 today to the village of Ocuilan and its environs, the writer has found
 a mysterious reference to it in a sixteenth-century document from the
 north of modern Hidalgo State."

635 Provincial borders in 1519.—In the final native period the province
 131 of Ocuilan, approximating a half-moon resting on its back, was bordered
 on the northwest by Tuluca, and on the northeast by Quahuacan
 and the Valley of Mexico. To the east lay Quauhnahuac, and to the
 south the small province of Malinalco and more sizable Tlachco.
 Ocuilan thrust out westward into the enemy lands of the Tarascans;
 Temazcaltepec and Zoltepec are spoken of as situated on the Tarascan
 frontier.

TRIBUTE

- 651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula* and *Mendocino* pages, Ocuilan gave the following tribute:

CLOTHING

- [291] 800 bundles of richly decorated little mantles of henequen**
 248 400 bundles of little cotton mantles decorated with sea shells**
 400 bundles of little cotton mantles**
 [714] 21 warriors' costumes with shields (one of the headdresses having
 the *quetzalpatzactli* form, and the rest Huasteca)*

FOOD

- [262] 4 wooden cribs, 1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian*
 263 2,000 vessels of white salt**

- 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Temazcaltepec alone gave mili-
 651 tary help (not more than twenty men), two or three bundles of the
 above-mentioned mantles of henequen, intoxicating mushrooms (*seco-*
 [291] *nacatl*), kindling, and ink made from sap—all this "every time they
 276 were asked."** No data are available on the tribute of other component
 212 towns individually.
 137

* Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 297-328.

** In Tlachiolticpac, *PNE*, 3: 130.

*** *PNE*, 7: 30: "Tributavane cada vez que se lo pedian dos y tres cargas de mantas de sequep, que se haze de un arbol que se llama maguel, y davan ongos con que sembo-

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Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Tuluca was a frontier 635
against Michoacan all along its western side. It was during their expan- 131
sion into this region that the Mexica met one of their few outstanding
defeats, being thrown back after penetrating to the shores of Lake
Cuitzeo. To the north lay the province of Xocotitlan (a single town
and its tributaries); to the east, that of Quahuacan, long Mexicanized;
and to the south, Ocuilan, which was separated from Tuluca by the
mountain of the icy and sacred lake, the Zinantecatli, now called
Nevado de Toluca.

Regional names.—The province of Tuluca was called the Matlat- 635
zinca[n] as far west as Temazcaltepec.¹⁰⁰ Since this term is a rather
familiar one, the exact boundaries which it includes have not been
investigated here.

TRIBUTE

651

Tribute of the whole province.—The province of Tuluca gave the
following tribute, according to the *Matricula* and its *Mendocino* copy:

CLOTHING

[291]

400 bundles of little white cotton mantles with decorated border**

400 bundles of henequen mantles, with designs in red, black, and
white**

1,200 bundles of white henequen mantles**

[714]

22 warriors' costumes and shields, 2 of them of fine quality*

FOOD

6 wooden cribs, 2 of maize, 2 of chian, 1 of beans, 1 of huauhtli*

[262]

Tribute of the component towns.—Tzinacantepec's special milpa [632]
has been noted. No other information is available on this point.

6. MALINALCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Two provinces are shown on the thirteenth page of the *Matricula*, 635
which is copied as folio 35^r of the *Codex Mendocino*. The two sections 114
are separated by a strong line in the original, but in the copy this is so
weak as to be scarcely visible, and it apparently was not visible to the
annotator. There is no question, however, that we are dealing with

¹⁰⁰ PNF 7: 16.

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is attributed to the Matlatzinca,¹⁷³ although in 1791 the Matlatzinca language is not mentioned in a "Descripción" of the place.^{31 346 635} The religious importance of Malinalco is probably linked with an episode of the migration story of the Mexican tribe. This is given in several variants, the gist of it being that Malinalxochitl, sister of the tribal god Huitzilopochtli, being a great sorceress, was such a plague to the migrating tribesmen that they abandoned her en route, while she slept. She settled then at Malinalco, and bore a son, whose later attempt to avenge the family honor is a part of the story of the foundation of Tenochtitlan. The ramifications of the name Malinalco lead also into a maze of calendaric ritual, for the sacred grass Malinali was the twelfth day-sign.

It has been noted¹⁷⁵ that Malinalco joined the northern Cohuixca in attacking Quauhnahuac after the latter's surrender to the Spaniards.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Malinalco lay well embedded in the Empire, with Ocuilan to the north and west, Quauhnahuac to the east and south, and Tlachco to the south and west. 635 | 3 |

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The annotations of the *Mendocino*,⁶⁵¹ which we are following for our summary of tribute, do not distinguish between what Malinalco paid and what its fellow, represented on the same page, paid. However, the pictures do show this distinction, and from them we gather that Malinalco Province paid the following:

CLOTHING

1,200 bundles of large mantles of soft henequen**

[291]

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)^{***}

[262]

¹⁷³ Cf. Gante, "The Recently Discovered Malinalco Ruins," *Mexican Art and Life*, No. 2 (April, 1938), and Larsen, "The Monolithic Rock Temple of Malinalco, Mexico," *Estudios* (1938), 3: 59-63. García Payón's more complete report appeared recently ("Los monumentos arqueológicos de Malinalco ...," *RMEA* [1946], 8: 3-63).

¹⁷⁵ "Descripción topográfica de la jurisdicción Malinalco," dated July 13, 1791, at Tenancingo: "Los Yndios de toda esta jurisdicción hablan el Ydioma Mexicano, á excepción de el Pueblo de San Juan Azingo, que para su gobierno interior, conserban el Ocuilteca, de difícil comprehencion para los estrafios."

^{**} In the section on Tepequacuilco.

^{***} To get this figure I have followed the *Mendocino* annotations, which specify 8 bins for Malinalco and the other province together. This I have divided equally, in view of the equal division of the bins as drawn in the picture.

● 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—If we allot the foregoing equally
632 between the two towns forming this province, we find that each must
have contributed as much in produce as was collected from the whole
province of Tlachco, in which there were nine towns, and that each
must likewise have paid the equivalent of nearly one-third of the
tribute in mantles collected from Tlachco Province.

TRIBUTE

- 651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid in pre-Conquest days by Quahuacan Province:

CLOTHING

244
714

800 bundles of rich mantles**
800 bundles of little mantles of henequen**
41 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

262

4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS: TIMBER (quarterly)

313

1,200 large planks
1,200 large boards
1,200 poles (*quaumimilli*, morillos)

8. XOCOTITLAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

- 635 Page 13 of the *Matricula* is divided into two sections, as has been
114 mentioned. The left-hand section contains the province of Malinalco,
175 the right-hand section that of Xocotitlan, with but a single town. The
material concerning this one-town province is copied on the lower
part of folio 35' of the *Codex Mendocino*. In both manuscripts, in
addition to the glyph, its name appears in roman letters. Xocotitlan
[128] (1) is located on the authority of the American Geographical Society's
"Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México," where it is spelled
Jocotitlán. It lies in the modern State of Mexico, at the foot of the
peak also called Jocotitlán. With Xocotitlan has been placed the town
of Xiquipilco (2), a vaunted conquest of the Mexicans.²⁰ Five estancias
were subject to Xocotitlan in the mid-sixteenth century,²¹ which
probably were under its jurisdiction pre-Hispanically. If these es-
tancias could be located, they would define the frontier a little more
precisely.

²⁰ Xocotitlan and Xiquipilco were conquered at the beginning of Axayacatl's reign, before the invasion of the Matlatzinca country, as the writer's forthcoming chronological study will show.

²¹ *PNE*, 1: No. 799. These are Almolonga, Tlalchichilco, Tlamacuelpa, Tlalcurpan, and Tlaxomulco.

The Old Tepanec Domain

37

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The inhabitants of present-day Xocotitlan¹⁹⁷ and Xiquipilco speak Mazahua and Otomi²⁰⁰—a fact in harmony with Ixtlixochitl's remarks concerning these people at the time of their incorporation into the Empire.²⁰¹

Provincial borders in 1519.—Xocotitlan was a prolongation of the Empire frontier towards Michoacan, exposed to attack from the west and north. East of it lay the province of Quahuacan.⁶³⁵

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Xocotitlan is given as follows: 651 ●

CLOTHING

400 little mantles of embroidered henequen²⁰² [291]

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)²⁰³ [262]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xocotitlan (like the other diminutive province of Malinalco) gives us figures—lacking from most of the relaciones—for the tribute derived by the Mexicans from a single town, and these figures suggest that life under Mexican rule was arduous. 651

9. ATOTONILCO DE PEDRAZA

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (not to be confused with that of Atotonilco el Grande) occupied with its list of towns the verso side of a lost page of the *Matricula*, as we may ascertain by the copy which forms folio 28^r of the *Mendocino*.²⁰⁴ It consisted of seven pueblos, of which only the cabecera survives with its original name. Despite the plethora of Atotonilcos, we may be sure of the location of this particular town and of its corresponding province because references to one other pueblo listed, Otlazpan, have been found in old documents. The 114

¹⁹⁷ Soustelle, *La Famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique Central* (1937), *passim*.

²⁰⁰ He puts them among Otomi, Mazahua, and Matlatzinca peoples. *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 296.

²⁰¹ See n. 111, p. 31.

²⁰² The lost original might be called p. 6B.

- 635 *Regional names.*—Atitlaquia and Apaxco lay in the margin of the ancient Teotlalpan, on which we have commented elsewhere."

TRIBUTE

- 651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—This obliterated province gave the following items of tribute:

CLOTHING

- [291]
714 400 bundles of rich mantles**
400 bundles of mantles with black-and-white border**
800 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
62 warriors' costumes, together with shields*

FOOD

- [262] 4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauchtli, and chian)*

OTHER GOODS

- [317] 400 loads of lime**

- 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Atotonilco de Pedraza itself
632 seems to have figured in the lime manufacture noted above."

- 317 Otlazpan, in 1549, paid tribute of lime, "mantas labradas con tocho-mitl," and many other articles, as we see in the *Codex Mariano Jiménez*. These must be the "mantillas de ricas labores ... ropa que bestian los S[eñore]s y caciques." *Tochomitl* is defined in the "Relaciones históricas estadísticas" (1: 228) as "lana teñida de colores la qual dicha lana era conejos y liebres." (Compare with Tepechpa, p. 72.)

10. QUAUHTITLAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

- 635 Page 6 of the *Matricula* represents the once great province of Quauh-
114 titlan, whose annals are so precious to the investigator of ancient Mexi-
can history and ethnology. This page is copied as folio 26' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The province lay in the modern State of Mexico, north
[128] of the Federal District. Seven towns are listed in this province, the present map of which is based on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura

* Barlow, "Las provincias septentrionales del Imperio de los Mexicanos," in *Tercera Reunión de Mesa Redonda sobre Problemas Antropológicos de México y Centro América*, ... 1943: *El Norte de México y el sur de Estados Unidos* (1944), pp. 119-121.

** PNE, 1: No. 1 [ca. 1550]: "Ay muchos magueyes y tunas y piedra para hazer cal y destas cosas tienen mucha grangeria los yndios." The whole region was abundant in lime.

● 651

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Rush mats and seats were a distinctive tribute of the province of Quauhtitlan, which paid the following items:

CLOTHING

[296]
[714]

- 400 bundles of rich little mantles**
- 400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border**
- 400 bundles of little white mantles**
- 62 warriors' costumes with shields (2 fine pieces)*

FOOD

[262]

- 4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huahtli)*

OTHER TRIBUTE

[289]

- 4,000 *petates*
- 4,000 rush seats

II. XILOTEPEC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

- 635 The province of Xilotepec, which kept its name into the late sixteenth century, contained seven towns, according to page 9 of the *Matricula* and folio 31^r of the *Mendocino*. It lay in the southwest part of Hidalgo and in the northwest part of the State of Mexico. In the *Matricula*, the towns of Xilotepec and Michmaloyan are identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all are. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheets "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." Below are the *Mendocino* names which have been identified with those of the modern map:

103

MENDOCINO

- Acaxochitla, 7
- Michmaloyan, 5
- Tecoauhtla, 11
- Tepetitlan, 6
- Tzayanalquilpan, 3
- Xilotepec, 2

MILLIONTH MAP

- [Missing]
- Michimaloyan
- Tecoautla
- Tepetitlan
- Soyaniquilpan
- Xilotepec

There remains a seventh town to identify in this province: Tlachco. It is possible that this may be the modern Querétaro, for the Mexican version of Querétaro (more properly "Querendaro" in Tarascan) is

212 their Nāhua masters. These unique historical annals for the years 1403-1528 were discovered by Lic. Alfonso Caso.²⁰ They come from the town of Hueichiapan, on the very Chichimec frontier, and should afford important ethnographic and historical data when published.

632 Three of the seven towns listed on the *Matricula* page are definitely
635 stated to be old Tepanec domain. These are Michmaloyan, Tecocauh-tla, and Xilotepec. Two others, which fell within the province but are not on the *Matricula* page, were also Tepanec: Tula (4) and the unlocated frontier town of Acaualtzinco.

635 Provincial borders in 1519.—To the west and north of the province
131 of Xilotepec lay the "tierra de guerra" of the Chichimec nomads.²¹ Traders ventured into this region, however, as did Conin, the Otomí *pochteca* who founded Querétaro. East of Xilotepec lay the Empire province of Axocopan, and to the south that of Atotonilco.

Regional names.—The ancient Teotlalpan began immediately on the borders of Xilotepec, with the town of Atitlaquia,²² but apparently did not overlap with it.

TRIBUTE

• 657 Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino*, the following tribute was extracted from the province of Xilotepec:

CLOTHING

- [291]
714] 400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses, richly decorated**
408 bundles²³ of men's mantles**
400 bundles of embroidered skirts**
800 bundles of mantles with a spotted design**
408 bundles²⁴ of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of mantles with a red stripe in the middle**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

- [262] 4 wood cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS

- [231] 1-4 live eagles, "according to what they found"²⁵

²⁰ Alfonso Caso, "Un Codice en Otomí," in *Proceedings of Twenty-third Congress of Americanists*, ... 1928 (1930), pp. 130-135.

²¹ Cf. n. 35 above.

²² PNE, 6: 201.

²³ Corrected from 400 of *Mendocino* commentary.

²⁴ Corrected from 400.

²⁵ The only other live-eagle tribute specified in the *Matricula* came from the province of Oxitipan, also in the north of the Empire.

The Old Tepanec Domain

45

Tribute of the component towns.—A little more detail on tribute appears in the "Descripción de Querétaro," which remarks the abject subservience of Xilotepec Province to its masters, the tribute of mantles and game, and the brutality of the tax collectors.⁶³¹

12. AXOCOPAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Axocopan was depicted on one of two leaves of the *Matricula* which have disappeared completely. It must have occupied the recto side of a leaf between those representing the provinces of Quauhtitlan and Hueypachtla, since it is preserved for us in this location in the copy of the *Mendocino Codex*, folio 27'.⁶³² Axocopan Province lay in the southwest part of the territory belonging to modern Hidalgo State. Its towns have been located on the basis of the sheet "San Luis Potosí" of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," supplemented by the Hidalgo map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento. The equivalents between ancient names and those of the "Millionth Map" are noted below:

MENDOCINO

Atenco, 5
 Axocopan, 1
 Mizquiahuala, 7
 Tecpatepec, 8
 Temohuayā, 2
 Tetepanco, 3
 Tezcatepec, 9
 Tlaahuilipā, 4
 Xochichiuca
 Yzmiquilpā, 10

MILLIONTH MAP

[Missing]
 [Missing]
 Mixquiahuala
 [No change]
 [Missing]
 Tetepango
 [Missing]
 Tlahuelilpa
 [Missing]
 Ixmiquilpan

Despite the absence of many names from the "Millionth Map," and of some from both maps used, all these towns have been located. We may even add to them the following town: Tezontepec (6).

⁶³¹ "Descripción de Querétaro," in Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para ... San Luis Potosí* (1897-1899), I: 33: "en tiempo de su gentilidad [los de Xilotepec] eran sujetos á los señores de Mexico á los cuales adoraban como á dioses ... tributabanles todo lo que podía cada vno ó lo que querían los que lo recogían daban mantas gallinas codornices conejos y sobre esto les apremiaban los cojedores con apotes y otros malos tratamientos."

⁶³² Regarding the missing pages, see Introduction, pp. 6-7. This vanished *Matricula* original may be called p. 6A of that codex.

The Old Tepanec Domain

47

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the north lay the republic of Metz-titan, whose soldiers fought with Yzmiquilpan. To the east was Hueypuchtla, to the south Atotonilco, and to the west Xilotepec—all Empire provinces.

Regional names.—Many of the towns of the province of Axocopan lay in a region called the Teotlalpan.⁶³⁵ This term is defined as "tierra de los dioses." The Teotlalpan is a term used far into the sixteenth century, by Alonso de Santa Cruz in his *Geography*, and by others. It does not seem to have been coterminous with the province of Axocopan in the north: Yzmiquilpan is nowhere stated to be inside the Teotlalpan, for example. But documentation is scarce.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Axocopan and the other subjects of this province was as follows:

651

CLOTHING

- 800 bundles of rich little mantles**
- 400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border**
- 800 bundles of little white mantles**
- 400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
- 42 warriors' costumes with shields*

[291
714]

FOOD**

- 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauidi)
- 400 large jars of thick maguery honey

[262
263]

Tribute of the component towns.—Some indication of the way in which this burden was divided among the tributaries appears below.

631
632

Atenco is grouped with Mizquiyahuala (*q.v.*).

Axocopan gave shields and spears, henequen mantles, and made nine special milpas for its overlords.⁶³²

Mizquiyahuala, together with Atenco, paid one turkey every twenty days, as well as henequen mantles: "...estavan sujetos al p[uebl]o de [235]

⁶³¹ Axocopan, *PNE*, 6: 14; Mizquiyahuala, *PNE*, 1: No. 347; Tecpatetec, *PNE*, 6: 34; Texcatepec, *PNE*, 6: 32 and 1: No. 546; Tlahuelilpa, on the other hand, "está ya casi fuera de la comarca que dicen de la Teotlalpan" (*PNE*, 3: 73).

⁶³² *PNE*, 6: 14 and *passim*.

⁶³³ To the ruler in México, "dauanle de tributo: troddas de nequen [sic] y varillas tostadas, mantas de nequen de diferentes labores; hasianle nueve sementeras de mahiz" (*PNE*, 6: 15).

- [51] tula ... Ansi mismo estaban sujetos al de Mexico donde estava y residia
 [237] montesuma q̄ en aquellos tiempos hera señor dellos, y la davan de tributo cada un yndio una gallina desta tierra cada veinte dias y unas mantas de nequen y todos en general chicos y grandes hazian lo mismo" (RHE, 1: 253).
 [237] Tezcatepec paid henequen mantles and skirts, deer horns, and game, as well as making a special milpa."
 [411/231] Tezcatepec paid tribute of game, bows and arrows, and deerskins."

13. HUEYPUCHTLA

SOURCES OF THE MAP

- [635] On page 7 of the *Matricula* and on folio 29' of the *Codex Mendocino*
 [114] appears the province of Hueypuchtla, which included south-central Hidalgo and a tiny segment of north-central Mexico. The present map
 [123] is based on the American Geographical Society's Millionth Map, "San Luis Potosi" and "Ciudad de México." In the *Matricula*, only the cabecera is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. The following have been identified:

103

MENDOCINO

Acayocā, 7
 Atocpan, 10
 Hueypuchtla, 3
 Tequixquia, 1
 Tetlapanaloyā, 2
 Tezcatepectonco, 6
 Xicalhuacan (? 4)
 Xomeyocan (? 5)

MILLIONTH MAP

Acayoca
 Actopan
 Hueypochtla
 [No change]
 Tlapanaloya
 [See Remarks on Towns]
 [See Remarks on Towns]
 [See Remarks on Towns]

One pueblo of the *Matricula* remains unidentified: Xalac.

On the other hand, we may add two more towns with certainty to this province: Itzcuintlapilco (8) and Tolnacuchtla (9).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

- [632] *Atocpan* has become the *Actopan* of today. Although there still exists
 [131] another town called *Atocpan* (southeast of Hueypuchtla), ours is the

⁶² PNE, 6: 36: "davan de tributo mantas de nequen y naguas, cueros de venado, venados, liebres, conejos y codornices, y le hazian una sementera de mahiz."

⁶³ PNE, 6: 32: "reconoció a Moctezuma ... davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

- 635 *Regional names.*—The cabecera of Hueypuchtla lay within the region known as the Teotlalpan,¹ as did Tequiquiac² and the Tezcatepec we have identified as the pre-Hispanic Tezcatepectonco.³

TRIBUTE

- 651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Hueypuchtla and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

CLOTHING

- [241] 400 little decorated mantles**
 714] 400 henequen mantles with black-and-white border**
 800 white henequen mantles**
 62 warriors' costumes, with shields*

FOOD*

- [262] 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)
 263] 400 jars of thick maguey honey

- 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Some of the elements of the
 632 tribute listed above may be traced in the relaciones of the sixteenth century.

- [286] Hueypuchtla gave game and mantles and weapons, as well as making a special milpa for purposes of tribute. Nets are also mentioned—an unusual item.⁴

- [231] Tezcatepec[tonco] provided weapons and game.⁵
 [231] Tolnacuchtlā gave tribute of game, among which figured live eagles.⁶

¹ PNE, 3: 48, 6: 26. See discussion of regional names, Axocopan (p. 47) for a definition.

² PNE, 3: 51.

³ PNE, 6: 32.

⁴ PNE, 6: 28: "reconoció a ... Moctezuma y a sus antecesores, dauante por tributo, venados, conejos, rredes y vnas mantillas de nequen que son como anejo de Castilla, y codornyses y cutalas, arcos y flechas, y le hazian vnas sementerías, mahiz, frisoles, calabças y otras semyllas menudas de esta tierra."

⁵ PNE, 6: 32: "dauante de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

⁶ Live eagles were depicted in the *Matricula* from two other provinces of the north: Oxitipan and Xilotztec. PNE, 6: 25: "dauante de tributo aguilas, codornyses, venados, liebres y conejos."

635 represented on this page, and it was the most northerly of the whole
 114 vast Empire. This town is marked Oxitipan in the *Mendocino* copy,
 [31] which is all we have. The following equation has been made:

Oxitipan, 1

Ojitipa de Mirador

- [65] Many other towns must have been reckoned in with Oxitipan, to judge from the figures for pre-Hispanic and colonial tribute, which differ enormously. (Four hundred loads of *axi* compared with thirty, for example.)

REMARKS ON TOWNS

- 632 Though Oxitipan is described as lying eight leagues to the west of what is now Ciudad Valles,² it is clear that the reporter had his directions mixed. Ojitipa de Mirador is the same distance south, being a rancho of the municipio of Tancanhuitz, in the extreme southeast of the State of San Luis Potosí. The name of a stream flowing near Tancanhuitz is Oxitipan—another instance of the survival of this once important place name. Ciudad Valles was originally the Villa de Santiago de los Valles de Oxitipan.³

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

- 635 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Although we have no specific description
 114 of Oxitipan from early times, an English *pochteca* named Chilton gives an account from 1572 dealing with near-by areas to the east and north, that is, Tancuaylab and the modern Ciudad Valles. Chilton writes:

- 635 The first town we came unto is called Tancuylabo, in which there dwell
 105 many Indians, high of stature, having all their bodies painted with blew, and weare their haire long down to their knees, tied as women use to doe with their haire-laces. When they go out of their doores, they cary with them their bowes and arrows, being very great archers, going for the most part naked. In those countreys they take neither golde nor silver for exchange of any thing, but onely Salt, which they greatly esteeme, and use it for a principall medicine for certain wormes which breed in their lips and in their gummies.

² PNE, I: No. 434: "Confina con Tambelen"—now a rancho of Valles.

³ Meade, *La Huasteca: Epoca Antigua* (1942), p. 293.

⁴ Chilton's narrative in Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations . . . of the English Nation* (Everyman's Library, 1907), VI:273.

The Old Acolhua Domain: The North

53

Chilton later fell into the hands of Indians near Santiago de los Valles (Ciudad Valles), and was threatened with cannibalism, but they feared his leanness to be due to the pox, and spared him. Scalp-taking here is noted by Chilton:

... they take a great pride in killing a Christian; and to wear any part of him where he hath any haire growing, hanging it about their necks, and so are accounted for valiant men.

Native trade connections between the Valles area and distant Xalapa of Veracruz are also noted by Chilton.

In early pre-Hispanic times, Oxitipan was claimed, along with Tulancingo and other towns of the north, as part of the old domain of Xaliscoan.*

Provincial borders in 1519.—In 1519, the province of Ctzicoac lay to the south; on all other sides, the province of Oxitipan lay open to Chichimec attack.

TRIBUTE

The town of Oxitipan, which probably included various subjects, gave the following tribute in the native period:

CLOTHING**

2,010 bundles* of large mantles, each 2 varas long
806 bundles* of large mantles, striped red, blue, and yellow

FOOD*

400 loads of dried axi

OTHER TRIBUTE*

1 or more live eagles, as many as were caught

It is noteworthy that the same items of tribute, though in lesser quantities, were given annually in early colonial days to the Spanish masters of Oxitipan.

CLOTHING

9 "suavanes"

FOOD

30 loads of axi
9 jars of honey

... maize

* ENH, 381: 126.

* Corrected from 2,000.

* Corrected from 800.

177
651

OTHER GOODS

... cotton
60 ~~decenas~~^{decenas}

15. CZICOAC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Czicoac (Tziccoac would be a less eccentric spelling)
114 is represented on the last, damaged page of the *Matricula* as it survives today, that is, on page 28, the following leaf being lost. Fortunately, this badly damaged leaf was copied and preserved for us long ago in the *Codex Mendocino* (fol. 54^r). This former province of the Empire of the Mexica, which contained five principal towns, is now divided between northern Hidalgo and Veracruz, together with a small corner of San Luis Potosí. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" [128] of the American Geographical Society, sheet "San Luis Potosí," which gives the following equivalents:

103

MENDOCINO

Cozacatecutlan, 1

Czicoac (?), 5

Molanco, 7

Xocoyocan (?), 6

Ychcatlan, 3

MILLIONTH MAP

Coxcatlan

[See Remarks on Towns]

[See Remarks on Towns]

[See Remarks on Towns]

Ixcatlan

We may add Tampatel, near Tantoyuca—Number 79 of the complete list of Empire conquests—and Tamapachco (8), Number 88. These were conquered by Axayacatl and Tizoc respectively. It is [648] probably safe to fill in the map with Chapulhuacan (2) and Huexotla de Hidalgo (4), which warred with independent Metztitlan."

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Coxcatlan* is assumed to be the modern Coxcatlan near Tancan-
131 huitz, though it is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan" along with towns of the Chicontepec area. Indeed, if it fell in Chicontepec, the whole eastern half of this province would be doubtful, and the question of the northern boundaries of Metztitlan, as well as that of Mexican communication with Oxitipan, would remain open.

* PNE, 1: No. 434.

"Relación de ... Metztitlan," p. 273, and PNE, 6: 128.

635 pire, in territory governed by the aboriginal Huastec. Huastec was
 648 spoken in the northern part of Ctzicoac Province, and Náhuatl (in
 197 recent times, at least) in the south." The Huastec people, generally
 105 speaking, possessed a high and very old culture, inherited from legendary sea-borne founders." Sahagún gives voluminous data on the Huasteca, of which we quote a part:

... they wore their hair dyed different colors, some yellow, others red, and others varicolored ... they all had sharp teeth because they sharpened them on purpose; they wore for ornament gold bracelets on their arms, and half-boots made of feathers on their feet, and jade bracelets on their wrists ...

together with feather headdresses and fanlike collars. "The defects of the Cuexteca," he adds, "are that their men do not cover their shameful parts with loincloths, though there is a great quantity of clothing among them. ..."

635 Provincial borders in 1519.—To the south of Ctzicoac lay the inde-
 131 pendent principality of Metztitlan, with its old Náhuatl speech and gods. To the east were Atlán and Tuchpa, Empire provinces acquired at about the same time as Ctzicoac, and to the north an obscure "Chichimec" frontier.

635 Regional names.—Ctzicoac lay in the Huasteca, a region more
 103 properly known as "Cuextlan."¹⁰ This region is also called "Tonacatlapan," "the land of foodstuffs," and "Xochitlalpan," "place of flowers."¹¹ One rather corrupt document speaks of Ctzicoac as "Tizcohuacaloatl" ("Tzicohuacaloath"?).¹²

TRIBUTE

- 651 Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula*, Ctzicoac and her subject towns gave this tribute to the Mexican masters:

CLOTHING

[291]

400 bundles of white mantles with red, blue, and yellow borders**
 400 bundles of loincloths**

¹⁰ Jiménez Moreno and Mendizábal, "Distribución prehispánica de las lenguas indígenas de México."

¹¹ Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 131.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 131-132. Mende (*La Huasteca: Época Antigua* [1942]) gives the best general résumé of the province.

¹³ Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 130.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

¹⁵ Krichauff, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 196.

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808 bundles* of large white mantles, 4 brazas long**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

57 651
[291]
714

FOOD

400 bundles of dried chili peppers*

[262]

OTHER GOODS

800 bundles of cotton*

[248]

Another version of this tribute specifies the following annual payments:

CLOTHING

1,800 bundles of mantles for use as carpets, with varicolored stripes
..... plain mantles
..... women's skirts and blouses
100 bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long and 3 *piernas* wide
100 bundles of thin mantles, 4 brazas long ("which altogether comes to forty thousand pieces")
200 bundles of loincloths

[291]

FOOD

100 loads of chili peppers
100 loads of little peppers

[262]

OTHER GOODS

400 *petacas* [petates?]
400 deerskins
100 live deer
100 large (live) parrots
40 bags of white feathers for weaving
40 bags of varicolored feathers

[285]
[281]
[231]
[237]

Besides this, servants were provided for the overlords.*

[357]

* Corrected from 800.

** *Istlinochil, Obras históricas* (1890), II: 197. The province of "Tzicohuacalacot" paid "en cada un año de tributos mil y ochocientos fardos de mantas así de las ricas betadas de todos colores, que servían para entapizar las salas y cuartos del rey, como de otras llamas, enaguas y bucepiles, sin más cien fardos de mantas de Tlacatzihque [Tlacatzihque, Molina: cona torcida] de 4 tres piernas, que tenía de largo cada una de ellas ocho brazas, y otros cien fardos de las más delicadas y primas de 4 cuatro brazas, que las unas y las otras venían á ser cuarenta mil piernas, sin más cuatrocientos petacas y cuatrocientos pellejos de venado, cien venados vivos, cien cargas de chile y cien cargas de pepitas, cien papagayos grandes, cuarenta costales de pluma blanca con que hacían telas, y otras cuarenta costales de plumería de aves de diferentes colores, sin más doscientos fardos de pellejos, que venían á ser cuatro mil, con las amas y criadas necesarias para el servicio de palacio."

reached to the limits of that of Xonoctla in the adjacent province of Tlatlaubquitepec.⁶³⁻² 131

Tenexticpac appears in the Mexican conquest lists as number 78.

Tuchpa is also called Tomilco (? Tochmilco) in some documents in the *Suma de visitas de pueblos* ... (PNE, I: Nos. 449 and 525).

Çihuastropa has been located by Krickeberg (*Los totonacs* [1933], p. 110), who identifies it with Cihuatitlan.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Like Otzicoac, northern Tuchpa Province belonged to the Huasteca. The south was different. Papantla was, and still is, a focal point of those who spoke Totonac. The elaborate ruins of that region (El Tajín) are the source of much debate; however, they are clearly linked with Teotihuacán.⁶⁴⁻⁸ Papantla was first subjected to the Empire by Moctezuma II, whereas Tuchpa was one of the towns long tributary to the Acolhuaque of Texcoco.⁶⁵

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the east of Tuchpa lay the province of Otzicoac, to the southeast the tiny province of Atlán, and to the south the provinces which cut Tlaxcala off from the sea. Beyond the northern frontier were the unconquered Huastec peoples.¹³¹

Regional names.—The regional names given under the section "Otzi-coac" are equally applicable to Tuchpa. The south, however, formed part of the Totonac country, Totonacapan.⁶³⁻⁵ 103

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Tuchpa Province was wealthy, especially in textiles. She paid the following to her overlords, according to the *Matricula*:⁶⁵¹

CLOTHING

- 400 bundles of black-and-white checked mantles**
- 400 bundles of red and white mantles**
- 400 bundles of loincloths**
- 808 bundles* of large white mantles, 4 brazas long**

[291]

* RHE, I: 487.

** Cf. Palacios, *La cultura totonaca* (1941), and the valuable bibliography of García Payán, *Interpretación de el Tajín* ... (1943).

* Ixtlámschid, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197.

** Corrected from 800.

60

Extent of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica● 651
[291]816 bundles^m of orange-striped mantles, 8 brazas long^{**}408 bundles^m of large white mantles, 8 brazas long^{**}402 bundles^m of mantles striped red and yellow^{**}400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses^{**}240 bundles of rich mantles in three styles^{**}

[114]

2 warriors' costumes with shields^{*}FOOD^{*}

[262]

800 loads of dried chili peppers

OTHER GOODS^{*}[234]
3011

20 bags of small white feathers for decorating mantles

2 strings of chalchihuites

1 string of turquoises

2 disks of turquoise mosaic

[114] Another source, which magnifies the seven towns into seven provinces in the "gran provincia de Tochpan"^m (seventy-eight pueblos in all), gives the following version:

[291]

CLOTHING

1,580 bundles of mantles

25 mantles and huipiles

400½ bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long

400½ bundles of thin "twisted" mantles, 4 brazas long

[357] This is summed up as 47,645 articles of clothing, a smaller figure than that given by the *Mendocino*.^m Perhaps we have here the tribute of the cabecera alone. Servants were also supplied, we are told.ⁿ

Still other sources give more details concerning items included in the opulent tribute of Tuchpa Province, among them a kind of mantle called "Tuchpanecayotl."^m

^m Corrected from 800.ⁿ Corrected from 400.^{*} Corrected from 400.^m Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197. It is interesting that the number seven is given, which corresponds to the number of towns known to us from the *Mendocino*.ⁿ The total number of pieces of clothing from Tuchpa Province specified in the *Mendocino* is 85,480.^m Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197: "En la gran provincia de Tochpan puso por su mayordomo á Huehutli, que cobraba en cada un año de las mantas del género atrás reiendo, mil quinientos y ochenta fardos, y mas veinticinco mantas y huipiles, sin más cuatrocientos fardos, y más diez mantas de ilacatzihqui [Molina: cosa torcida] de a ocho brazas, y otros tantos fardos le mantas de ilacatzihqui delgado de a cuatro brazas, que por todo venían á ser cuarenta y siete mil seiscientos cuarenta y cinco mantas, enaguas y huipiles, piezas de ilacatzihqui y pañetes sin más las amas de palacio y criadas que eran necesarias para el servicio. La gran provincia de Tochpan se dividía en siete provincias, que contenían todas ellas sesenta y ocho pueblos a ellas sujetos."^m Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), p. 315. See also Krickeberg, *Los sotonares* (1933), pp. 110-111.

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61
62

Tribute of the component towns.—Papantla paid a tribute of mantles, little peppers, maize, and chili.⁶²

17. ATLAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 27 of the *Matricula*, which is copied as folio 53' of the *Codex Mendocino*, appears a province of two towns, the second such province which we have encountered.⁶³⁵ In the former codex, one place glyph is identified as "Atla" (1); the other is left unnamed. In the *Mendocino* they are identified as "Atlan" and "Teçapotitlan." The town of Atlan appears at the northern tip of Puebla State, in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento. Both are listed among the very numerous tributaries of Huauchinango, four leagues distant, in one document which gives Atlan one hundred and fifty tributaries and "Çapotitlan" ten only.¹¹⁴ Elsewhere both are said to be of the *partido* of Metaltoyuca (2). In the latter document Teçapotitlan is also called "Valpopocatlan."⁶³⁵

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Provincial borders in 1519.—Atlan and Teçapotitlan were apparently the great Mexican bulwarks of the northeast. These two towns are treated in the same way as are Xoconochco, at the southern extremity of the Empire on the Pacific, and Oztoma, on the west, in that the glyph of each town appears on a preliminary leaf of the *Matricula* accompanied by the glyph of a special governor, who held the rank of "tlacochcalcatl," or "tlacochtectli," as the *Mendocino* annotator puts it. Atlan and one other province (Quechaltenanco, in Guerrero) each had but one governor; the five other regions distinguished in this manner each had two.¹³¹

Bernal Díaz speaks of a garrison which seems to be that of Atlan, when he refers to "...otra capitania ... a la rraya de panuco, Entre tuçapan [?] Tuchpa] y vn pueblo que le pusimos por nonbre almeria [Nautla], ques En la costa del norte ..."

⁶³⁵ RHE, 1: 488: "tributabanle mantas y pepitas y mahiz y chile."

¹¹⁴ Cf. Malinalco, above.

¹³¹ PNE, 3: 97.

⁶³⁵ ENE, 8: 160.

⁶³⁵ *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (1904), I: 302. See fuller quotation from Díaz in note 1, p. 128.

635 Atlán was nearly surrounded by other Empire provinces: Ctzicoac
 131 to the northwest, Tuchpa to the northeast and east, and Tlapacoyan to
 the south. West of it lay Tototepec de Veracruz, seemingly an independent city-state.

TRIBUTE

- 651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid by the small frontier province of Atlán to its masters, the Mexica:

CLOTHING**

- [291] 800 bundles of rich red and white mantles, bordered in red, blue, and yellow
 800 bundles of loincloths
 404 bundles^a of large white mantles, 4 brazas long

OTHER GOODS*

- [248] 1,200 bundles of cotton

18. TLAPACOYAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Tlapacoyan occupies page 26 of the *Matricula*, copied
 114 as folio 50^r of the *Codex Mendocino*. It contains the seven principal towns of a province now forming part of northern Puebla State. In the *Matricula* the cabecera alone is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. The present map is based on the Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1908). A list of the ancient place names, together with their modern equivalents, is given below:

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Acacacatlá, 7	Zacatlán
Tlapacoyán, 4	[No change]
Xiloxochitlán, 6	Eloxochitlán
Xochiquauhtitlán, 5	Xochicuatla

These three remain to be located: Aztašpan, Coapan, and Tuchtlan. To this province may be added: Cuauhchinanco (2), Chila (3), and Xicotepec (1).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

- 632 *Acacacatlá* can hardly be other than the Zacatlán of today.
 131 *Cuauhchinanco* was one of the fourteen cabeceras of the Acolhuanque.

^a Corrected from 400.

TRIBUTE

- 651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tlapacoyan paid the following tribute to its Mexican masters:

CLOTHING

- [291
714] 400 bundles of black-and-white striped mantles**
800 bundles of large white mantles**
3 warriors' costumes*

- 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acaçacatla, if we are correct in
632 identifying it with the modern Zacatlán, gave no tribute other than a few judicious gifts.^m

Chila paid, as might be expected from the *Matricula* leaf, a tribute of cotton mantles.^m

19. ATOTONILCO EL GRANDE

SOURCES OF THE MAP

- 635 The glyphs for Atotonilco and its five fellow towns appear on page 8
114 of the *Matricula* and is copied on folio 30^r of the *Codex Mendocino*. There is an Empire province of Atotonilco which may be called the province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (see p. 37 above), but the one represented on folio 30^r may be named after the town within it which is indicated by the *Matricula* annotator as Atotonilco el Grande—the only town he identifies on this page. The towns of this province lay in the south-central part of eastern Hidalgo. The *Mendocino*, as usual, identifies all towns, and has been compared with the modern map [28] (American Geographical Society, "Millionth Map," sheet "San Luis Potosí") with the following result:

103	MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
	Acaxochitla, 3	Acaxochitlán
	Atotonilco, 1	Atotonilco el Grande
	Hueyapan, 5	[No change]
	Quachqueçaloyā, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]
	Tulançingo, 4	Tulancingo
	Çtzihuinquiloca	[See Remarks on Towns]

^m RHE, 1: 469: "no tributaban como otros pueblos mas de que quando ellos querian hazer algun presente á moctezuma lo hazian y no otra cosa."

ⁿ RHE, 1: 481: "antiguamente tributaban á moctezuma mantas de algodón."

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

Quachqueçaloyan is given as "dos leguas del mismo Atotonilco" ⁶³² and seventeen leagues from México." As "Tlaquetzaloyan" it appears ¹³¹ eight leagues from Hueyacocotla." It was one of two subject towns belonging to Atotonilco in the sixteenth century."

Çtzihuinquiloca may be located from a literary reference, which places it southeast of Epazoyuca."

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants.—Tulançinco, in this province, was a town of great antiquity, a former center of the Toltecs of Tula, Hidalgo. Sahagún comments on the ruins at Tulançinco in the same breath with those of Tula itself and of Xochicalco." These ruins have only recently been surveyed." Tulançinco eventually became an important garrison town of the Acolhuaque," and it was from this point, according to Tezozomoc's *Crónica mexicana* (p. 312), that the conquest of the Huasteca was launched. ⁶³⁵ ¹⁷⁵

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Atotonilco el Grande ⁶³⁵ lay between two *tierras de guerra*. To the north was Metzquitlan, and ¹³¹ probably a second city-state (Tototepec de Veracruz); to the south was Tlaxcala. East and west, however, were other Empire provinces, Tlapacoyan and Hueypachtla.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of the province of Atotonilco el Grande to its overlords in Mexico is given below: ⁶⁵¹ ●

CLOTHING

- 800 bundles of rich mantles**
1,600 bundles of mantles of white nequen**
4 warriors' costumes with shields*

[291
714]

* PNE, 3: 91.

** PNE, 2: No. 133.

*** GPM, p. 250.

**** PNE, 1: No. 31.

***** RHE, 2: 140: "Entre levanta y sur [de Epazoyuca] estan muchos pueblos pequeños como tlahuicuilca [sic] y tehtystaca y el pueblo de tepapulco está cinco leguas camino de here."

***** Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), I: 8 and III: 109.

***** By Carlos Margain; see Bibliography.

***** Ixtlilxochitl, *Obra histórica* (1893), II: 199.

651
[262]

FOOD

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

632
651

Tribute of the component towns.—Atotonilco el Grande, in the mid-sixteenth century, gave six hundred *hanegas* of maize annually and twenty-six *hanegas* of wheat. Quarterly it paid twenty-five women's skirts and twenty-five blouses, as well as fish, quail, chicken eggs, kindling, personal services, and a host of minor items."

20. ACOLHUACAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

- 635 The province which is represented on page 3 of the *Matricula* is depicted on folios 21' and 22' of the *Codex Mendocino* copy. It contained
114 twenty-six pueblos worth enumerating. Several of the glyphs are almost obliterated in the *Matricula*, which identifies four towns in roman letters. Three of these identifications—Ixquemaca, Ahuatepec, and Cempoala—agree well enough with the *Mendocino*, which identifies all the towns, but the name of the cabecera is quite different in the two manuscripts. The *Matricula* calls it "Acolman"; the *Mendocino* calls it "Acolhuacan." In the ensuing discussion, Remarks on Towns, the problem is considered. This province lay mostly within the territory now included in the State of Mexico, northeast of Lake Texcoco, but projected a short distance into Hidalgo. With the 1937 map, "Valle de México" (Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento), used as base, more than half the towns of this province have been identified:

103

MENDOCINO

Acolhuacā, 23
Aztaquemcca
Cenpoalan, 5
Ecatepec, 15
Epaoyucā, 2
Huicilan, 9
Matixco, 14
Teacalco, 11
Temazcalapā, 10
Tepechpa, 16

1937 MAP

[See Remarks on Towns]
[See Remarks on Towns]
Zempoala
[No change]
[See Remarks on Towns]
Huitzilac
Maquixco
[See Remarks on Towns]
Temaxcalapan
Tepeupan

* PNE, 1: No. 21: "Y da mas seyaçientas hanegas de maiz cada año y siembran veinte y siete hanegas de trigo, y dan veinte e cinco naguas y otras tantas camisas cada ochenta dias."

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TRIBUTE

651

Tribute of the whole province.—Acolhuacan Province is said to have given the following tribute:

CLOTHING

[29]

2,000 bundles of large white "twisted" mantles**

1,200 bundles of rich thin mantles, in three styles**

400 bundles of loincloths**

[714]

400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**

121 warriors' costumes with shields ("one fine piece")**

FOOD

[262]

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)

Tribute of the component towns.—Acolman (a) rendered tribute of henequen garments, in bundles of twenty, every quarter, and maguay leaves for fuel, but, to judge from a statement in the *Papeles de Nueva España* (6: 213), this seems to have been destined for the local cacique.

Cenposalan at first gave obsidian knives for war clubs to Texcoco. After passing into Mexican hands it gave a canoe annually, and then, in the time of Moctezuma's predecessor, fowl and other things.

Epaçoyucan and adjacent towns paid only obsidian knives until Ahuizotl enlarged the temple of Huitzilopochtli and increased tribute demands generally. Thereafter they paid mantles and maize and domestic fowl.

** Corrected from the *Mendocino* version: 103 pieces, 3 fine.

¹ RHE, 1: 131: "estos quatro pueblos y sus sujetos eran en tiempo de su gentilidad del señor de texcoco netzavvalcoyotzin andando el tiempo y siendo señor en mexico ytzcohuatzin pasaron los pueblos de senpuala y tlaquilpa y tepilpa al señor de mexico solamente tzaquala se quedo en el señorío que sobre ellos tenia y reconocian siempre el Reyno de texcoco Reyno de aculhuaca tributaban nabajas con que hazian macanas y despues andando el tiempo y siendo señor en mexico ytzcohuatzin mucho tiempo no tributaron nada sino solamente cada año llevaban vna canoa a mexico hasta que en tiempo de ahuitzotzin antecesor de montezuma fue el primero que mando tributasen mantas gallinas y todo genero de bolateria [this for a new temple] como sucedio Montezuma en su lugar no quiso personarlos tributos."

² RHE, 1: 142: "eran del señorío de texcoco ... no tributaban nada solamente nabajas con que hazian macanas y siendo señor en mexico ytzcohuatzin pidiole al señor de texcoco que no tenia muchas tierras que le diese algunos pueblos de la comarca de mexico entonces se dividió este pueblo porque gozase tambien el señor de mexico las nabajas la mitad llevó el de texcoco y otra mitad el de mexico y entró tambien otros pueblos debajo del señorío de mexico como cenpohuala tlaquilpa pachuca tecontepex y temazcalapa todos estos pueblos pasaron a mexico y estos pueblos ayudaban a sacar nabajas y no tenian otro tributo hasta que vino a señorear el antecesor de montezuma que

- 632 Teotihuacan gave quarterly tribute of thick henequen mantles called
 651 "ichtilmatl" and maguey leaves for fuel.¹⁰ However, the *Tratado del principado ... de San Juan Teotihuacan*¹¹ gives much ampler detail.

Tepechpa preserved the memory, in 1580, of various stages in its evolution as a tributary. At first its people paid their cacique products of the chase, then mantles of various sorts, and finally, circa 1450, a quarterly tribute of cotton mantles (fifty mantles, four *piernas* wide and eight *braças* long; thirty-four *braças* long and four *piernas* wide; and forty more of *tochomiltl* style) as well as twenty loads of cacao [262] of Xoconochco (2400 beans to the load), twenty loads of chile, and twenty of little peppers.¹²

- [326] Tepetlaoztoc, as we see from the handsome *Codex Kingsborough*, gave rich articles of goldwork to its first colonial overlords—obviously a continuation of a long tradition.

Tetlyztaca paid henequen mantles "because they are poor people."¹³

se llamava ahuitzotzin quiere decir nutria este fue el que mandó que tributasen mantas y mahiz y gallinas para hacer una fiesta quando acabó el templo del ydolo que llamauan huitzilopochtli desde entonces començaron los tributos deste pueblo y toda la comarca." Cf. n. 81 above for a similar case.

¹⁰ PNE, 6: 221: "cada ochenta dias: algunas mantas de nequen gruesas que llaman ichtilmates y algunas cargas de pencas de maguey de esas que llaman metloni."

¹¹ Guzmán, "Un manuscrito de la colección Boturini ...," *Ethnos* (Stockholm, 1938), 3: 94.

¹² PNE, 6: 234: "cinquenta años antes del reynado de Montezuma cada ochenta dias le tributauan cinquenta mantas de algodón de quatro piernas en ancho y ocho braças en largo, y otras treinta mantas de algodón de quatro braças en largo y quatro piernas de ancho, y otras quarenta mantas labrados de tochomytl para bestirse (cf. Atotonilco de Pedraza, p. 40), y beinte cargas de cacao de a beinte e quatro myll cacaoa carga, de zoconosco, y quarenta naguas y otros tantos guipiles y beinte cargas de chile y otras tantas de pepitas."

¹³ RHE, 1: 152.

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frontier. To the south was Huaxtepec, to the southwest Quauhnahuac, ⁶³⁵
and to the north the jigsaw-puzzle provinces of the heart of the Empire. ¹³¹

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The province of Chalco gave the ⁶⁵¹ ●
richest food tribute of the whole Empire:

CLOTHING

800 large mantles**

2 warriors' costumes with shields*

[291]

714]

FOOD*

6 wooden bins of maize

2 wooden bins of beans

2 wooden bins of chian

2 wooden bins of huahtli

[262]

22. QUAUHNAHUAC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The fourth page of the *Matricula* shows us a series of towns headed by ⁶³⁵
Quauhnahuac, a name the Spaniards, in an unfortunate jest, changed ¹¹⁴
to Cuernavaca.⁷ This province now forms the western half of the
State of Morelos, with a very minor prolongation south into Guerrero.
There are sixteen of these town glyphs, all of which are copied in the
Mendocino on folio 23⁷, with the tribute lists running over onto folio
23⁷. The *Mendocino* annotator seems to have made one of his rare
slips, identifying one of the glyphs wrongly, as shown below. The map
of this province is based on the 1910 "Carta General del Estado de ¹¹²³
Morelos" (Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora), on which the follow-
ing towns have been located:

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP	MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Acatlypac, 4	Acatlpa	Quauhnahuac, 2	Cuernavaca
Amacoztitla, 14	Amacuzac	Teocalcingo, 17	Teocalzingo (Gro.)
Atlicholoayan, 9	Atlacholoaya	Xiutepec, 3	Xiutepec
Coatlan, 7	Coatlán del Río	Xochitepec, 6	[No change]
Chimalco, 16	Panchimalco	Xoxoutla, 15	Jojutla de Juárez
Huicilapā, 1	Huitzilac	Yztla, 11	Puente de Ixtla
Miacatla, 5	[No change]		

103

Three towns remain to be located: Molotla, Ocpayucā, and Yztepec.

⁷ Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40) speaks of the "pueblo que se dice Coatlábaca [!]" e convenientemente correspondemos ahora aquel vocablo y le llamamos Cuernavaca."

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and are "muy tímidos y toscos o torpes." This seems to have been a general opinion.¹⁸¹ Quauhnahuac was their principal town, from which they spread south and into what later became Huaxtepec Province.^[632]

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Quauhnahuac was surrounded by other provinces of the Empire. The intricate provinces of the Valley of Mexico lay to the north. Eastward were Chalco and Huaxtepec, and in the south Tlalcoahuatlán. Tepequacuילו, Tlachco, and Malinalco formed the western borders, from south to north.

Quauhnahuac itself was subject to Texcoco specifically. There was a special room in the palace at Texcoco for storing the tribute of this southern province¹⁸² and even a detailed list of what Texcoco received.

Regional names.—The region is called Tlalhuic, by one source, at least.¹⁸³

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The following goods were exacted from the Cuernavaca region:⁶⁵¹

CLOTHING

1,200 bundles of large "twisted" mantles**

800 bundles of little white mantles**

1,200 bundles of little mantles "richly worked, the sort the lords and caciques wore"***

400 bundles of loincloths**

400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**

8 warriors' costumes with shields**

[291]

[714]

¹⁸¹ Códice Ramírez, fol. 20: "los tlalhuicas que era la gente mas tosca destos seis tribus ..."

¹⁸² Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España* (1867-1880), I: 12: "llegaron los Tlaluicas [sic] ... los quales como allaron ocupado lo demas, asentaron en lugar que agora poseen, tomando por principal asiento y cabeza de su provincia, á Cuauhnahuac, de donde salieron los Señores de aquella congregacion á hacer sus moradas y asientos como los demas, unos á Yahutepec, otros á Oaxtepec, á Acapichtlan, á Tlaquiltenanco con todos los demas pueblos, villas y estancias que llamamos Marquesado, pues es el del felicísimo Marqués del Valle."

¹⁸³ Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 180. A plan of the Texcoco palace and its storerooms figures in the *Códice Quinatzin*.

¹⁸⁴ Códice Ramírez, fol. 20: "llamaron estos a su provincia Tlalhuic porque la poblaron los Tlalhuica."

¹⁸⁵ Among these was the "Huastec" (Cuextecat) dress with its peaked cap so typical of the statuary and divinities of that region. In the *Matricula* it is clearly marked "cexcapantli cuextecatli toxtli," "one yellow Huastec costume"—which confirms Seler's identification of the style from literary sources alone. He says, "Ich kein Bild kenne, das durch eine Beischrift als cuextecatli Devisse gekennzeichnet wäre" (Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* [1902-1933], II: 603-610).

651

[262]

FOOD

4 wooden bins, 1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huahtli*

[323]

287

OTHER GOODS

3,000 pottery bowls**

8,000 reams of native paper**

651

632

Tribute of the component towns.—Coatlan [del Río], not many decades after the Spanish Conquest, gave its new masters goods which were probably similar to its former tribute. This was still paid by the old calendar system on four of the fiestas, or "cada ochenta dias," as it is expressed. They gave the following:

76 pesos of unrefined gold (*tepuzque*)

2 jars of honey

6 women's skirts ^{ls}

6 women's blouses

and made four "sementeras" of maize."

23. HUAXTEPEC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

- 635 The province of Huaxtepec, with twenty-six towns, is represented on
 114 the fifth page of the *Matricula* and on folio 24' and 25' of the *Mendocino*. The glyph in the lower right-hand corner of the *Matricula* page has been worn away, but the corresponding one in the *Mendocino* may be seen as "Huiçilan." Every town is identified in roman letters in both manuscripts, and the two versions agree except in details of spelling. This province formed the eastern part of modern Morelos State, and
 [128] the present map is based on the "Carta General del Estado de Morelos," of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1910). Former and present
 103 place names are compared below:

MENDOCINO

Ahuehuepan

Amilcingo, 19

Anenecuilco, 16

Atlautla, 5

Ayotlachapā, 24

Coacalco, 4

Huaxtepec, 7

1910 MAP

[See Remarks on Towns]

Amilcingo

[No change]

Atlautlahucan

Axochiapan

Oacalco

Oaxtepec

* PNE, 1: No. 163.

Only in the northeast was there any contact with enemy terrain. There Tetela and Hueyapan are described as frontier towns," while memory of conflict with the dwellers of the plateau also persisted in Totolapan and adjacent towns well within the province."

Regional names.—The zone of the towns specified as Xochimilca, together with near-by Atlatlauca, was called Quauhtengo." South of Yacapichtla lay another district referred to as the Tlalnahuac, in which Tlayacac and Tecpacinco were prominent centers."

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—In the *Matricula* we see, and in the *Mendocino* we read of, the following opulent tribute which flowed to the Triple Alliance from the province of Huaxtepec:

CLOTHING

- 400 bundles of loincloths**
- 400 bundles of women's clothing**
- 1,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
- 8,000 bundles of rich little mantles**
- 46 warriors' costumes with shields (6 being fine pieces)*

FOOD*

- 4 large wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)

OTHER GOODS**

- 2,000 polished pottery dishes of various colors
- 8,000 reams of native paper

Tribute of the component towns.—Rather curiously, no details are available on the origins of the foregoing tribute, military aid and prisoners alone being mentioned.

* PNE, 6: 286.

* Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan "trayan guerras" with "Chalco, Guexocingo, Tazcala, Chelula; las quales heran sobre sus tierras" (PNE, 6: 9). We read in Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), §§ 1202-1203, how the people of Totolapan accompanied Nezahualpilli in a successful campaign against Huexotzinco in 11. Tochtli, 1490.

* "Estas las dichas tres cabezeras asentadas en tierra llana, cercadas de montes y sierras no muy altos: llamase la Provincia Quauhtengo, y dixose asi porque los mas de sus sujetos estan poblados en montes, y en la dicha lengua se dize el monte quauhutla o quauhutengo" (PNE, 6: 10).

* RHE, 1: 224: "Los pueblos de la tlalnahuac son catorce cabezeras caen casi todas desta villa [Yacapichtla] á la parte del sur dizen llamarse asi porque es tierra llana y mas caliente questa la una cabezera dizen que antiguamente no abia mas de dos cabezeras que heran tepacpacinco y tlayalacue y que los demas heran estancias y asi agora se nombran catorce cabezeras."

- 651 Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan gave no tribute because they
 632 were near the frontier, as mentioned above."
 [727] Yacapichtla seems to have made a tribute of prisoners."

24. TLALCOÇAUHTITLAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

- 635 Page 18 of the *Matricula* depicts three provinces, their town glyphs
 114 and tribute being ranged in vertical sections. The left-hand section, in
 which the cabecera is identified in roman letters, sets forth the province
 of Tlalcoçauhtitlan. This part of the page is copied in the *Codex*
Mendocino as the top section of folio 40^r. The province lay in central-
 eastern Guerrero and consisted of eight towns, four of which have
 [727] been identified—chiefly on the "Millionth Map" of the American
 Geographical Society (sheet "Ciudad de México"). Former and
 present name forms are listed below:

103

MENDOCINO

Ahuacincinco, 4
 Mitzinco, 3
 Tlalcoçauhtitlā, 2
 Tolimani, 1

MILLIONTH MAP

Ahuacuotzingo
 Mitlacingo
 Tlalcozotitlān
 Tulumán

Four other towns remain to be located: Quauhtecomaccinco, Tepuz-
 titlā, Ychcatlan, and Çacatla.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

- 632 Quauhtecomaccinco, according to one lone reference, was four leagues
 131 from Olinalā."

Tepuztitlan may be a Tepuztlan San Miguel, subject to Chiautla,
 from which it lay eight leagues distant."

Ychcatlan was four leagues from Tlalcoçauhtitlan "de muy mal
 camino de sierras"² and eighteen leagues from Tlapan, being an
 estancia of Tenango."

² "El señor natural ... fue Montezuma, al qual no tributaban, porque solo le servian
 en las guerras" (PNE, 6: 8).

³ The "Relación de Yecapichtla," citing (RHE, 1: 223) that "aunque moten-
 cums los quiso señorear no pudo veraxellos y así estuvieron siempre de por sí y sobre sí,"
 admits (p. 227) that "los que de aquellos prendian los llevaban a presentar a moten-
 cums."

⁴ PNE, 5: 230.

⁵ GPM, p. 112.

⁶ PNE, 5: 230.

⁷ GPM, p. 104.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—According to the Mendizabal-Jiménez¹⁰¹ Moreno linguistic map, Tlacoçauhtitlan embraced a diversity of¹¹⁷ languages. Apart from the predominant Náhuatl, areas of Tlapanec, Matlame, and the unclassified Tuxteca are noted. The province of Tlacoçauhtitlan was brought into the Empire by Nezahualcoyotl, who placed a governor over it.¹¹⁷

Provincial borders in 1519.—West of Tlacoçauhtitlan lay the prov-¹³⁵ ince of Tepequacuico; east of it Quiauhteopan, and to the north¹³¹ Quauhnahuac and Huaxtepec. These were Empire provinces. On the south, however, it gave on obscure and bellicose Yopitzinco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The yellow earth which gave its name¹⁵⁷ to the province of Tlacoçauhtitlan naturally figured in its tribute, which was as follows:

CLOTHING

- 400 bundles of large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

[291]
714]

FOOD

- 100 pots of bee honey**

[263]

OTHER GOODS

- 20 dishes of *tecoçauhuitl*, "ques un barnyz amarillo con que se en-^[323] bixavan"

¹⁰¹ Ixtlixochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 198: Nezahualcoyotl "... fué sobre la [provincia] de Tlacoçauhtitlan y la ganó, en donde puso por su mayordomo á Huitziltecul, en donde se le daban de tributo y reconocimiento en cada un año diez y seis bascos de color y veinte cargas de copal, doscientas sacuntas y ocho jicaras y tecomates finos, y veinte cargas de varas de tlacuilo quahuitle." The last item is clarified by Sahagún (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], III: 222): "Hay unos árboles silvestres que se llaman tacuiloquauhtl, que quiere decir que tiene madera pintada, porque ellos son bermejos, y tienen las vetas negras que parecen pinturas sobre el bermejo; es árbol muy preciado, porque de él se hacen teponaztles, tamboriles y vihuelas, y suenan mucho estos instrumentos cuando son de esta madera; y por ser muy pintada y de buen parecer es muy preciado."

¹¹² Tenozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 315) includes among the tribute from the Huasteca "betun amarillo que llaman Tecuexalin y tecuauhuitl con que untan y tñen jicaras, y ablandan manos y piés."

Editorial note (C. O. Sauer): This Náhuatl word may possibly also signify the yellowish lacquer base, prepared from *Coccus* insects. The intermediate slopes between the volcanic highlands and the Balsas lowland were and are the chief source of this substance, prized in the aboriginal crafts of central and southern Mexico.^[297]

- 657 This differs entirely from the tribute imposed by the Alcolhuaque on first conquering the province, which tribute consisted of:

323	16 pieces of colored lacquer
313	268 fine <i>picaras</i> and <i>tecomates</i>
314	20 loads of fine cabinetmaker's wood
	20 loads of copal ^m

25. QUIAUHTEOPAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

- 635 On the *Matricula* page depicting three provinces (p. 18), the section
114 extending vertically down the middle represents the province of Quiauhteopan. This section is copied in the *Codex Mendocino*, folio 40^r, as the middle stripe, but is placed horizontally there. Quiauhteopan Province lay in eastern Guerrero, and may have extended north into Puebla. Of its six towns, three have been identified, the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having been used as point of departure. Correspondence of old and modern names is noted below:

103

MENDOCINO

Olinalan, 1
Qualac, 2
Quiauhteopan (23)

MILLIONTH MAP

Olinalá
Cualac
[See Remarks on Towns]

Three other towns remain to be identified: Quauhtecomatla, Xalac, and Ychcatla.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

- 632 Quauhtecomatla may be the "Tecomatlan" cited in one old document emanating from this region.ⁿ This Tecomatlan appears much later as "Joya de Tecomatlan" and is identified as a rancho seven leagues "Les Nordeste" of Chilapa, to which it was subject.ⁿ

- 731 Quiauhteopan was subject to Olinalan (Olinalá), from which it lay three leagues distant, in a direction not given.ⁿ It has been placed in the otherwise blank region north of Olinalá. Quiauhteopan figures in the conquest lists along with Tlacoauhtitlan and Ohuapa.

ⁿ The list is quoted in n. 36 above.

ⁿ PNE, 5: 251.

ⁿ AGN, Padrona, 16: 108^r. Petatlan is given by the same source as seven leagues east of Chilapa.

ⁿ PNE, 5: 250.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map indicates great linguistic complexity for this province: Náhuatl, Mixtec, Tlapanec, and Matlame. 101 177

Olinalan, celebrated for its lacquer-work, probably carried on that activity in pre-Hispanic times. From adjacent Tlacoçauhtitlan Province, perhaps only a few kilometers away, "bateas" went as tribute to Texcoco. 351

Provincial borders in 1519.—Because half the towns of the province cannot be identified on the maps of unexplored Guerrero, the north of this province is a great blank. It bordered, probably, on Huastepéc Province in that direction, as on the west with Tlacoçauhtitlan, on the east with Yoaltepec, and on the south with Tlapan, all of them fellow tributaries. 635 31

Regional names.—Somewhere in the dubious northeast began the region known as Totollan. 651

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Quiauhtecopan was a rich mining region, as is shown by the following list of its tribute to the highlands: 651

	CLOTHING	
400 large mantles**		291
1 warrior's costume with shield*		714
	FOOD	
100 jars of bee honey*		263
	OTHER GOODS	
40 large copper bells**		326
80 copper axeheads**		317
1 dish of little turquoise*		

Tribute of the component towns.—Olinalan, in the mid-sixteenth century, rendered a sizable quarterly tribute of base gold, cacao, money resulting from the sale of cacao, and sixty little jars of honey (over 632 651

* See the section on Tlacoçauhtitlan, above.

** FNE, 3: 57: "Piaxtla ... está en la provincia de los Totoltecas de lengua mexicana diferente de los de la Mixteca sujetos a la doctrina de la cabecera de Acatlan." Of the same town, it is said farther on (3: 77): "En este pueblo se habla la lengua mexicana cocreca, porque es de la provincia de Totola."

- 632 half the honey formerly paid by the province, according to the *Ma-*
 651 *trícula*). Besides this, two special milpas were cultivated and their
 [314] yield was sent to the near-by mines of Ayoteco."

"PNE, 1: No. 437: "Dan de tributo cada ochenta dias quinientos y veinte y ocho pesos y dos tomines de tipuque, y catorce xiquipiles de cacao y seis mill y doscientos y ochenta cacaos, y esto dan al dicho su amo en dineros que son quatrocientos y cinquenta pesos, y ocho xiquipiles de cacao y sesenta xarrillos de miel y cada año le hazen dos sementeras de maiz y se lo ponen en las minas de Ayoteco. On tipuque, see Bancroft, *History of Mexico* (1883), II: 7, and Boban, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire du Mexique* (1890), II: 416 and 430.

Provincial borders in 1519.—This was the northernmost of the three⁶³⁵ provinces lying east of Tlaxcala and separating it from the sea. North¹³¹ of it was Tuchia; northwest, Tlapacoyan; and to the south, Quauh-tochco.

Regional names.—The northern part of the province was part of the Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE

651

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Tlatlahquitepec held little variety:

CLOTHING

- 1,608 bundles^{**} of black-and-white striped mantles^{**}
2 warriors' costumes and shields^{*}

[291
714]

OTHER GOODS

- 800 cakes of liquidambar^{**}

[314]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xilotepec gave maize, chickens,² 632 and liquidambar.⁶⁵¹

Teotlalpan (Hueytlalpan) gave cotton mantles.["]

Xoxopancho and Tzotzocolco "... antiguamente tributaban a monte-cuma mantas de algodón," according to the unpublished relación mentioned above.

27. QUAUHTOCHCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Quauhtochco was one of the provinces cutting Tlaxcala off from the⁶³⁵ sea. Glyphs of its seven principal towns are painted on page 24 of the¹¹⁴ *Matricula* and on folio 48^r of the *Mendocino*. By means of the 1908¹²⁸ map of Veracruz,¹⁰³ in the center of which area this province lay, five of these towns may be identified, as follows:

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP	MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Ahuilizapan, 5	Orizaba	Tuchconco, 3	Tozongo
Quauhtochco, 2	Huatusco	Ytzteyocan, 4	S. Nicolas
Tototlan, 1	Totutla		

Two others remain to be located: Quauhtetelco and Teuhçoltzapotli.

^{**} Corrected from 1,500.

^{*} Cf. Krickeberg, *Los incensarios* (1933), pp. 111-112, for an examination of tribute from this province.

^{**} Cf. n. 6 above.

^{**} RHE, 1: 46a: "eran basalllos de monteçuma tributabanle mantas de algodón."

^{**} Comisión Geográfica-Exploradora.

[chickens are not known to date from pre-Spanish times in the New World. In this case, the word may be a generic term for fowl.]

Analyst

REMARKS ON TOWNS

⁶³² Quauh-tochco figures among the garrison towns on folio 17^r of the [712] *Mendocino* (see p. 128, n. 1), though no governor is mentioned.

^[75] *Tuchconco*, though shown in the *Matricula* as a pre-Hispanic town, seems to have been resettled in the sixteenth century. There are various documents concerning this resettlement, now kept in the Archivo General de la Nación, in Mexico City.²²

Teuhcoltzapotlan was a doubtful name even to the *Mendocino* commentator.²³

Ytztetocan, like *Tuchconco*, was subject to Cuescomatepec from the sixteenth century on.²⁴ It was later called San Nicolas Tolentino, then San Nicolas del Gentil, and, finally, Juventino Rosas.²⁵

Ytztetocan figures on folio 17^r of the *Mendocino*, among the garrison towns (see p. 128, n. 1), although no mention is made of a governor or governors.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

⁶³⁵ *Inhabitants and languages*.—The troops of Texcoco brought Quauh-tochco itself into the Empire.²⁶ After various uprisings in the fifteenth century, it was finally so well assimilated that it remained faithful to Moctezuma in the Spanish Conquest.²⁷ Náhuatl was the native tongue; what preceded it is doubtful.

⁶³⁵ *Provincial borders in 1519*.—To the west of Quauh-tochco was Tlaxcala; to the east the sea, from which Quauh-tochco barred that dwindling state. Two Empire provinces lay to the north and south: Tlatlahquitepec and Cuertlanlan.

TRIBUTE

- ⁶⁵¹ *Tribute of the whole province*.—The tribute of Quauh-tochco consisted of a narrow range of items:

En

400 large mantles²⁸

CLOTHING

²² E.g., AGN, Mercedes, 1: 36 and 40: 170^r, speaks of "tucongo, sujeto al [pueblo] de san ju" cuescomatepecque de la jurisdiccion de guatusco." Dominguez (*Cuescomatepec de Bravo: I* [1943], p. 42) publishes the earlier document.

²³ He first wrote "colan" and then rubbed it out.

²⁴ AGN, Mercedes, 1: 36, calls it "ytztetoca," and the same name, 18: 305^r, "ytztetoca."

²⁵ Dominguez, *Cuescomatepec de Bravo: I* (1943), pp. 17 and 36.

²⁶ Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.

²⁷ Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), pp. 260-261.

The Old Acolhua Domain: The Southeast

91 651

20 loads of cacao*

FOOD

[262]

1,600 bales of cotton*

OTHER GOODS

[248]

Tribute of the component towns.—Yztzeyocan and Quauhtochco, 632 fifteen years after the Conquest, were paying their Spanish masters 651 what they doubtless had paid in pre-Hispanic times: cacao and cotton.*

28. CUETLAXTLAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Cuetlaxtlan appears on page 25 of the *Matricula* and on folio 49' of the 635 *Codex Mendocino*. It was the southernmost of the provinces which 114 kept Tlaxcala from salt and the sea. It was in Cuetlaxtlan Province, which lay in south-central Veracruz, that Cortés landed. Of the pre-Hispanic centers, three have been located, mostly by the help of documents. The "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, [128] sheet "Ciudad de México," has been used as a framework for the present map, with the results given below: 103

MENDOCINO

Cuetlaxtlan, 2
Mictlanquauhltla, 3
Teoçiocan (?), 1

MILLIONTH MAP

Cotaxtla
[See Remarks on Towns]
[See Remarks on Towns]

Three more towns remain to be located: Acozopā, Oxichan, and Tlapanicitylā.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cuetlaxtlan was a Mexican presidio in the final native period.* 632

Mictlanquauhltla lay half a league from the mouth of the Río Medellín, according to an unpublished land grant. [131]

* According to a document published by Domínguez, *Coscomatepec de Bravo*: I (1943), p. 31.

* RHE, 1: 158: "para seguridad de los forçados é quietud desta tierra se dize que tenian los señores mexicanos dos presidios e fortalezas con guarnición e gente de guerra que heran cotaxtla ... y el otro hera otopa questá ocho leguas desta ciudad é la banda de noroeste." This Otopa is said to have been almost deserted by the time of the sixteenth-century writer.

* Dated April 12, 1575, and preserved in the AGN, Mercedes, 10: 61: "don myn enriquez ac por la presente en nombre de su mag^a hago m^a a joan armyento vezino de la ciudad de los angeles de un sitio de estancia para ganado menor en terminos del p^o de mictlanquauhtla media legua poco mas o menos de la boca del rrio de medellin dentro de los medlanortes va cerro."

- 652 Teopiocan is called "Teocinyocan" by another native source.²⁰ It is perhaps an estancia of Zongolica (a), "en tierra fria," called San Juan de Teoyxuacan, two leagues from the cabecera.²¹

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

- 175 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Cuetlaxtlan, we are told by a Texcocan
197 chronicler, was conquered by that power,²² a statement confirmed by the "Relación de Cempoalla." The pre-Hispanic language was Náhuatl.
635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Cuetlaxtlan lay between Quauhtochco
131 and Tchtepec, which were on the northwest and on the southeast respectively. Northeastward was the sea, and to the southwest was a doubtful region embracing at least one free city-state of the Mazateca.

TRIBUTE

- 651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Cuetlaxtlan, in contrast with that of adjacent Quauhtochco, was variegated:

CLOTHING

[291]

- 400 women's blouses and skirts**
400 small mantles, borders black and white**
400 half-quilted mantles**
400 mantles of 4 brazas each**
400 large white mantles, 4 brazas each**
160 very rich mantles for lords and caciques**
1,200 black-and-white striped mantles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*
1 string of chalchiuites*
400 bunches of quetzal feathers*
2 lip plugs of crystal, with blue and gold mountings*
20 lip plugs, light amber, mounted in gold*
1 hair adornment of quetzal feathers*

F714
37
237
301

FOOD

[262]

- 200 loads of cacao*

Cuetlaxtlan paid cacao and cotton mantles, both white and decorated.²³

²⁰ Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), IV: 134.

²¹ PNE, 3: 230.

²² Ixtlixochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.

²³ RHE, 1: 131.

²⁴ PNE, 3: 9: "tributable cacao y mantas de algodón blancas e pintadas."

The Old Acolhua Domain: The Southeast

95 635

province was Náhuatl, but along the southwest both Chinantec and 197
Mazatec were spoken.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tochtepec Prov. 635
ince lay Cuertlaxtlan and its fortress; to the southwest was the doubtful 131
zone of the independent Mazatec. Southward, Coayxtlahuacan and
Coyolapan provided another strong link with the Empire, but some-
where along the southeast the province of Tochtepec gave on enemy
regions, through which a thin line of fortresses must have led to
Xoconochco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The wealth of Tochtepec was phe- 651 ●
nomenal. Of the several lists of tribute which we have, the *Matricula*
shows the following items:

CLOTHING

1,600 rich mantles, of the kind the lords and caciques wore** [291]

800 red-and-white striped mantles**

400 women's blouses and skirts**

1 warrior's costume and shield, with a birdlike standard* [714]

1 gold shield**

1 feather standard like a bird's wing—yellow feathers* [301]

1 gold diadem*

1 gold headband, a hand's width and thick as vellum*

2 strings of gold beads**

3 large chalchiuites*

4 strings of chalchiuites*

20 lip plugs of light amber mounted in gold*

20 lip plugs of crystal with blue smalt and gold setting*

FOOD

20 loads of cacao [262]

la mar del Norte hasta otra provincia que se dice Teochtepec [sic] que asimismo la ganó y sejugó, y puso en ella por su mayordomo y cobrador de tributos (de más de la gente de guarnición que en cada una de ellas dejaba) á Toyectzin, que cobraba en cada un año cuarenta fardos de mantas ricas y veinte de unas camisetas asimismo ricamente tejidas de finas colorés, que montan ciento y veinte piezas: igualmente le sembraban y cultivaban en cada un año una sementera de cacao, que tenía de longitud cuatrocientas medidas y de latitud doscientas, sin más treinta y tres cargas de cacao que se cobraban de tributo, dos mil pelonas de hule y cuatrocientos paños de grana, sin más muchas piezas de plumería, como eran rodela, penachos y otras divisas que los reyes usaban cuando salían a las guerras, hechas de la plumería rica que llaman quetzali. Esta provincia contenía doce pueblos, asimismo sujetos, y daban de tributo cierta cantidad de amas y criadas para el servicio de palacio."

* Contributed by Ucila. See Tribute of the Component Towns, below.

** Also from Ucila.

OTHER GOODS

- 651 16,000 rubber balls
 314 100 pots of liquidambar
 237 24,000 little bunches of blue, red, and green feathers
 4 tufts of green feathers trimmed with yellow ones
 80 handfuls of quetzal feathers

[114] Ixtlilxochitl gives another list for the whole province: what it paid to Acolhucan when it was first subjugated.⁶

CLOTHING

- 291 40 bundles of rich mantles
 20 bundles of rich blouses
 ... shields, panaches, etc., of quetzal plumes

FOOD

- 262 33 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS

- 314 2,000 rubber balls
 237 400 measures of cochineal

351 Personal services were also exacted, he relates.

651 The same chronicler says that twelve pueblos were subject in this
 714 province. In a little list inserted without explanation in the annals of
 Quauhtitlan, Tachtepec and eleven other towns of the province are
 named, along with these items:

- 314 20 + 10 + 1 (31) loads of cacao
 400 [measures] of *achiote*
 5 *centzonilli* [2,000?] rubber balls⁷

The agreement between the Ixtlilxochitl and Quauhtitlan lists suggests that Ixtlilxochitl had the latter at his disposal.

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Even more detailed information
 651 may be secured on the tribute of Tachtepec Province.

Chinantlan and its subjects paid gold and cacao.⁸

Tlacotalpan paid cotton mantles (some bearing painted pictures of

⁶ Quoted in n. 36 above.

⁷ Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), p. 311. The twelve towns are Quechollan, Tlacoapan, Chiltepec, Poctlan, Oxitlan, Ichcatlan, Tlequauhila, Coyatepec, Tzinacanostoc, Xallapan, Otzistlan, and Tachtepec.

⁸ PNE, 4: 60: "este señor ... reconoçia a Moteçuma, y el y todos sus pueblos le tribu-
taban oro e cacao."

the sun and the moon), cacao and parrots, ocelot skins, alligator teeth (probably for use as charms), and chalchiuites.⁶³²

Toztlan also gave mantles painted with suns, as well as other garments. Dimensions are specified.⁶³¹

Ucila paid directly to the capital each year a gold shield, an ornament made of quetzal feathers, and two collars of gold beads, for Moctezuma and his wife. These are also depicted on the *Matricula* page. To the governor in Tochtepec they gave gold, cacao, cotton, maize, chile, beans, mantles, grass mats, and all sorts of fruit. A third tribute each year went to their own cacique.⁶³⁰

30. XOCONOCHCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

In the State of Chiapas, at the approaches of Guatemala, lay the coastal province of Xoconochco. The signs depicting this province are painted on the twenty-third page of the *Matricula*, and the copy appears on folio 47⁶³⁵ of the *Codex Mendocino*. Of the eight principal towns of this province, seven have been identified, principally on the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad Guatemala." Old and modern names are compared below: ¹¹⁴ [120]

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP	MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acapetlatlan, 2	Acapetagua	Mapachtepec, 1	Mapastepec
Ayotlan, 7	Ayutla	Maçatlan, 5	Mazatán
Huchuetlan, 4	Huchuetán	Xoconochco, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Huiztlan, 3	Huixtla		

One town remains to be located: Coyoacan. ¹⁰³

⁶³⁰ "Moteczuma lo señoreava: tributavane ropa de algodón con el sol e la luna y otras pinturas pintadas en ella, y cacao y papagayos y cueros de tigre y dientes de lagartos y piedras que llaman 'chalchivitis'." (PNE, 5: 2).

⁶³¹ PNE, 5: 5: "se dieron a Moteczuma por amistad ... tributavane vnas mantas de quatro piernas y de ocho baras en largo y tres palmos de ancho cada pierna, y en estas mantas pintavan en medio un cerco grande y enmedio el sol, y otra ropa blanca menuda."

⁶³² PNE, 4: 47-48: "obedesçian por su Señor y Rey a Montesuma al qual tributaban y pagaban cada año por tributo vn presente en que le daban vna rodela que en su lengua llaman chimali dorada con mucho oro, y un quetzale hecho de plumeria muy rico, y un collar de cuentas de oro muy rico para el dicho Montesuma, y otro collar de la mesma suerte y manera para su mujer ... cada vn año ... y que demas desto daban otro tributo a vn Governador que el dicho Montesuma tenia puesto en vn pueblo que se dize Tustepeque ... al qual daban cantidad de oro y mucho cacao y algodón, maiz, chile, y frisoles, mantas, petates y de todos los generos de frutos que la tierra daba, demas de lo qual otro tanto tributo a un cacique que estaba por Señor en esta provincia, Señor natural della, de suerte que pagaban tres tributos en cada vn año."

REMARKS ON TOWNS

- 632 *Xoconochco* has now become Soconusco San Benito.^a It appears as one
712 of the garrison towns (*Mendocino*, fol. 18') with two governors,
named "2. Quauhtli Tezcacouacatl" and "Atzin Tlilancalqui," ac-
cording to their glyphs (cf. chap. viii, no. 37).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

- 197 *Inhabitants and languages*.—The Mayence language Mame and Ná-
huatl were the native languages of Xoconochco Province.
635 *Provincial borders in 1519*.—The province of Xoconochco was one
131 of the terminals of the Empire, and doubtless warred constantly on
the east and west. The links which bound Xoconochco Province to the
Empire and to remote Tochtepec are not clearly known, but it seems
likely that they consisted in isolated fortresses.

TRIBUTE

- 651 *Tribute of the whole province*.—The tribute of Xoconochco Province
comprised the following:

CLOTHING**

- [301] 2 lip plugs of light amber, gold setting
2 long strings of chalchiuites

FOOD**

- [262] 300 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS**

- [237] 1,400 bunches of feathers, blue, red, and green
160 whole skins of birds^a
800 handfuls of yellow parrot feathers
800 handfuls of quetzal feathers
40 ocelot skins
[415] 800 rich tecomates for drinking cacao
[317] 2 brick-sized chunks of clear amber

- 632 *Tribute of the component towns*.—Xoconochco gave, in the early
651 colonial period, three annual tributes of goldpieces, each tribute being
comprised of eight gold disks worth twenty-five pesos apiece.^b

^a Nuttall, "Chalchihuitl in Ancient Mexico," *American Anthropologist* (1901), 3: 232.

^b Cooper Clark, ed., *Códice Mendoza* (1938), 1: 81. *Libro de las Cortes de Cortes amabilis* Gould.

^c PNE, 1: No. 501: "Dan tres tributos cada año y en cada vno ochocientos de oro de a veynete e cinco pesos cada vno, de nueve quilates: pagando en tismones al Respeto."

635 Teonochtitlan,¹ Teopantlan,² and Ytzucan.³ Tezozomoc speaks of
 175 Coatlalpan as being situated near the Marquesado.⁴

TRIBUTE

- 651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tepeacac and her subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

FOOD

622 4 wooden cribs (2 of maize and 2 of beans)⁵

OTHER GOODS

317 4,000 loads of lime
 314 4,000 loads of thick canes
 281 8,000 loads of canes for arrow shafts
 482 800 deerskins
 8,000 loads of *acayotl* "performes que usan para la boca"
 200 *cacastles*⁶

- 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Ahuatlán (a) paid a tribute of
 651 cane.⁷

Coatzinco supplied cane, shields made of the same material, spearheads, bows and arrows, and white lime.⁸

- 701 Texalucan (b) claimed to have given military service only—the enemies including the distant Coixca.⁹

Çoyatirlanapa (c) paid a tribute of canes, spearheads, white lime, shields made of cane, and wild cotton for padding armor.¹⁰

¹ More exactly, Tepeuxuma, next door to Teonochtitlan. *PNE*, 1: No. 340.

² *PNE*, 1: No. 359.

³ *PNE*, 1: No. 292.

⁴ Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), pp. 533–534: "los pueblos de Coatla[1]pan y ... la tierra caliente, que ahora llaman del Marquesado."

⁵ Wooden frames for carrying goods on the back with a tumpline.

⁶ *PNE*, 5: 82–83: "Dicen que en tiempo de su ynfidelidad fueron vasallos de Motec[ot]uma y sus pasados, y que le seruian y tributauan rrodelas de canas ma[er]icas que en lengua mexic[ana] llamaman otlatl."

⁷ *PNE*, 5: 95: "Dicen fueron vasallos de Motec[ot]uma y de los Señores de Mexico, y le seruian con rrodelas de cana ma[er]ica, con canas fuertes, y nauajas para lanças, cal blanca, flecha y arco para pelear."

⁸ *PNE*, 5: 86: "Dizèn que fueron vasallos de Motec[ot]uma y sus pasados," making war against the "provincia de Coayco y captiuauan gente que lleuavan a Mexico a Motec[ot]uma para que se sacrificase." For Coixca, see section on Tepequacuilco, p. 17, n. 41.

⁹ *PNE*, 5: 90: "En tiempo de su ynfidelidad eran de Motec[ot]uma, señor de Mexico, y sus pasados dauañe de tributo cal blanca, canas ma[er]icas grandes, y nauajas para poner en las lanças, y rrodelas de cana ma[er]ica para pelear, y algodón: algodón siluestre para jacos y cosseletes que vestian los hombres de guerra, que todo lo rreferido lleuauan a Mexico."

- 635 Provincial borders in 1519.—North of Yoaltepec Province lay the
 131 Empire province of Tepeacac, and to the east that of Tlachquiauco, but to the south were other Mixtec peoples never subjugated by the Triple Alliance: Tototepec of Oaxaca and her allies. Ayoxochiquilazala was an outpost against these. To the west Tlapan and Quiauhteopan were Empire territory again.

TRIBUTE

- 651 Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute rendered by Yoaltepec was small but choice; it included gold and turquoises. It is listed as follows:

CLOTHING

- [291
714] 400 large mantles**
 1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

- [263] 40 jars of honey**

OTHER TRIBUTE

- [316
533] 40 little gold disks, "the size of a Host" and as thick as one's finger*
 10 middle-sized turquoise masks (mosaic)*"

- 632 Tribute of the component towns.—Acatlan gave military supplies
 651 and food to the Imperial armies which passed through it and from time to time sent gifts of mantles and rabbitskins to its overlord in Mexico, as well as providing personal services. Certain gifts were received in return.*

- [712] Ayoxochiquilazala, though a garrison town giving military service, also paid tribute of gold dust.*

* Cooper Clark, in his edition of the *Códice Mendocino* (1: 75), remarks that "it is reasonable to suppose that these gold disks . . . measured about three inches in diameter."

* The *Mendocino* commentary considers the turquoise symbol appearing with the masks to represent a separate tribute of turquoises, but this conclusion does not seem justified.

* As in Ocolotepec, in the province of Coyolapan, *q.s.*, *PNE*, 5: 59, says that Acatlan "solamente . . . da[n] . . . a la jente de guerra que por el pasaba" food and arms from an arsenal there, and " . . . enbiansen de quando en quando vn presente al Rey de Mexico, de mantas y pellejos de liebres y de conejos." In the same source are mentioned the services rendered by various lords and their wives in the Imperial court, in eighty-day shifts.

* *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 147-148: "acudian con el tributo á monteçuma y le davan oro en polvo y no le acudian con otra cosa porque en este dicho pueblo tenia monteçuma jente de guarnición aperçebida para las guerras y esta gente mexicana comian y gustavan las gallinas venados conejos y maiz que eran obligados á dar á monteçuma."

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Piaztla gave salt and wax annually, and aided the Imperial troops passing through the town by supplying them with war clubs, shields, arrows, and food. 107
151
163
165
237

Tecomaixtlahuacan was under the rein lightly. It had its own lord and none other, we are told in the sixteenth-century *relación*, but it chose none the less to send Moctezuma gifts now and again, and tribute is the criterion of the present map.

Ycpatepec acquired certain articles by trade with peoples thirty leagues away and then delivered them to the Mexican tax collectors in Teutla (or Tentla). These articles were green feathers, gold, and chalchiuites.

Yxicayan gave a combination of dwarf peppers and mantles "and nothing else."

33: TLAPAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Tlapan contained fourteen towns, according to the glyphs of the *Matricula* (p. 17) and the *Mendocino* (fol. 39'). In the *Matricula* only "Tlahupā" is identified in a later hand; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. Tlapan Province lay in the eastern extreme of modern Guerrero. Of its fourteen towns, seven have been located on the modern map. The following correspondence between ancient and modern place names has been established, the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having served as base. 635
114
131
128

¹ *PNE*, 5: 78: Piaztla was "... sujeto al Real Imperio de Mexico y ... en su sujecion llebauan cada año cantidad de sal y sera, de que daban a los Exercitos de Mexico espadas de pedernal, rodela y flechas y comida quando pasaban por su pueblo a la conquista de lexos [sic] provincias, y no le davan en señal de sujecion otro tributo alguno."

² *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 137: "algunas vezes contribuyan con algunos presentes de piedras etc. desque llaman chalchihuites á monteçuma." The codex of this town (published by Schmieder) claims that the people of the town "nunca ... tributaron ni contribuyeron en cosa alguna para los dichos tributos de Mexico, y de todos eran libres y esentos" (Schmieder, *The Settlements of the Tzapotec and Mije Indians* [1930], p. 79).

³ *PNE*, 4: 161: "solian ser en tiempo de su xentilidad suxetos a Monteçuma ... le davan de tributo cada tantos meses plumas verdes y oro en polvo y algunas piedras verdes de poco momento: estas cosas iban a rrescatar a otras partes fuera deste dicho pueblo, mas de treynta leguas, lo qual entregaban a los capitanes de Monteçuma que tenia puestos para el dicho efeto en Tentla" (or Teutla).

⁴ *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 152: "acudian con el tributo á monteçuma al cual acudian con mantas y agi y no con otra cosa."

101 panec, a good part of the Yope remained independent of the Mexicans
 197 until the arrival of the Spaniards and gave the Spaniards themselves
 much trouble.

These Tlapanec and/or Yope seem to be linked with distant groups to the south and north. The nearest kin of the Tlapanec language is that found in Nicaragua,⁶⁰⁵ but certain customs of the Yope are identical with those of the Apache.⁷⁷⁶

212 The recent discovery by Ortega of several codices from the Tlapanec zone provides us with a potential source of information on this formerly almost unknown region.³⁴⁹ Though the codices are still unexploited, they have already shown that the Tlapanec used a pre-Mexican⁷⁷⁶ calendar system. There is less novelty in the observation that the god Xipe Totec came to the highland via the Yope. His temple, which stood where the western towers of the Cathedral of Mexico now stand, was called Yopico.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tlapan lay the province of Tlalcoçauhtlan, to the north that of Quiauhtecopan, and to the northeast Yoaltepec—the borderlands of the Mixteca. Tlapan Province extended down to the Pacific Coast to the fortress of Tototepec (not to be confused with the Mixtec kingdom of Tototepec in adjacent Oaxaca). On both sides of this bastion war was continually being waged. The greater portion of the Yope roamed unconquered in Yopitzinco to the west; and to the east was a doubtful region of independent Mixtec peoples, with the other Tototepec of Oaxaca looming as a background power.

TRIBUTE

65 Tribute of the whole province.—Ortega's startling discovery of the
 212 balance of the "Codex Humboldt I" and its identification by Toscano

⁶⁰⁵ On the Tlapanec language, see Radin, "The Tlapanec Language of Guerrero," *International Journal of American Linguistics* (1933), 8: 45-72, and Schulze Jena, *Indians III* (1938).

⁷⁷⁶ The only Yope ethnography surviving is in a document published by Federico Gómez de Orozco ("Costumbres, fiestas, enterramientos y diversas formas de proceder de los Indios de Nueva España," *Tlalocan* [1945], 2: 60-61).

³⁴⁹ See Toscano, "Los codices tlapanecas de Azoyú," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 10, N° 4 (1943), pp. 127-136.

⁷⁷⁶ That is, with the signs immediately anterior to the familiar Calli-Tochili series as year-bearers.

⁶⁰⁵ Published by Seler, Bulletin 28, Bureau of American Ethnology.

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III

as the "Nómina de Tributos de Tlapa y su señorío al Imperio Mexi-651
cano" give us unparalleled material for a future study in detail of the 212
tribute of this province. We now have the bookkeeping from both
sides, that of the conquerors and that of the conquered. Until the
codices are fully published, however, we can only remark the abundant
tribute of gold, confirmed by the *Matricula* and reconfirmed by the
excavations of Atliztac, which may have been included in the
province."

The *Matricula* and *Mendocino* specify:

651

CLOTHING

- 400 bundles of mantles and women's blouses**
- 402 bundles* of little red-striped mantles**
- 800 bundles of large mantles**
- 2 warriors' costumes with shields*

[291
714]

OTHER TRIBUTE

- 10 strips of gold "de quatro de dos en ancho y de largo tres quartos 316
de vara," and the thickness of parchment
- 20 bowls of gold dust, each bowl of 2 *almojadas* capacity 415
- 800 bowls called tecomates, "the good kind they drink cocoa from"

Tribute of the component towns.—We have testimony regarding 632
the tribute of one town, Ayutla, in both the pre-Hispanic and the 651
early colonial periods. On certain other towns, only information about
the latter period is available.

Ayutla and near-by towns joined in giving Moctezuma the following 415
every six moons: a bar of heavy gold, three fingers thick; gourds; deer 291
and tiger skins; fish and cotton." In the mid-sixteenth century it gave 248
40 measures of gold dust and various items of clothing quarterly, as 263
well as a turkey daily and the services of three Indians in a cacao
grove."

* Noguera, "Importancia arqueológica del descubrimiento de objetos en Teamelincan, Guerrero," *Boletín del Museo Nacional* (1933), Epoca II, 2: 42-44.

** Corrected from the figure of the *Mendocino* commentary, 400.

* PNE, 4: 260: "era de Motecuzuma... le davan vna vara de oro maciço de gordo de tres dedos, y tecomates que son como calabazas, y cueros de venado y pescado y algodón y cueros de tiguere, y que todos los dichos pueblos... le davan este tributo antiguamente cada seys lunas."

* PNE, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias quarenta pesos de oro en polvo y dos mantas de dos braças cada vna, dauascadas, y dos cotines grandes y ocho mantillas y quatro camises y quatro aguas y cada dia vna gallina de la tierra y mas tres yndios de servicio en vna huerta de cacao y todos juntos quando es menester la beneficencia."

- 651 Tlapan in the mid-sixteenth century gave 62 pesos, 3 tomines of
 632 gold quarterly, 3 loads of honey, 5 pots, and 3 loads of wax in pellets."
 [316] Tototepec, likewise about a generation after the Conquest, gave 50
 [263] measures of gold dust and certain articles of clothing quarterly, and
 [25] daily gave the services of seven Indians, and a chicken to the Calpix-
 [144] que.²¹

34. TLACHQUIAUCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

- 635 The province of Tlachquiauco was not large. It contained three
 114 principal towns, according to folio 45' of the *Mendocino Codex*, the
 folio copied from the recto side of a lost leaf (page "22A") which
 followed Coyolapan and preceded Xoconochco in the original manu-
 script. Of the three towns of Tlachquiauco Province, one has not
 [128] been located; but the other two (lying in northwestern Oaxaca) have
 been identified as follows on the "Millionth Map" of the American
 Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México":

[103]

MENDOCINO

Achiutlan, 4
 Tlachquiauco, 3

MILLIONTH MAP

S. Miguel Achiutla
 Tlaxiaco

The town which has eluded identification is Çapotlan.
 Mixtepec (2) and Tlacotepec (1) are added from other sources.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

- 632 Mixtepec was subject to Tlachquiauco in the days when the latter
 still held out against the Mexica, and presumably fell with it.²²

Tlacotepec appears in some of the younger Moctezuma's conquests
 jointly with Ycpatepec (in the province of Yoaltepec).

Tlachquiauco is a name which has suffered considerable corrup-
 tion, but there is no novelty in the identification of the town.

Çapotlan appears vaguely linked with Esla and Macuilxochic in one
 source.²³

²¹ PNE, 1: No. 725: "dan cada ochenta dias sesenta y dos pesos y tres tomines de oro en poluo y tres cargas de miel y cinco xarros y tres cargas de çara en pellas." The statement also includes similar data from near-by towns.

²² PNE, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias cinquenta pesos de oro en poluo y cinco nagaas y ocho mantillas, y cinco mantas grandes; mas dan çate yndias de seruicio cada dia y una galina al Calpizque."

²³ PNE, 4: 142: "el çacique de tlaxiaco que era a quien estos de mixtepeque reconocian por çer çer çer guerra con moctezuma."

²⁴ ENE, 16: 68.

21 [A civil functionary in whose care the public stores
 were entrusted - Analyst]

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—This province seems to have been formed out of a vanquished Mixtec city-state, at a very late period indeed in the Empire's history. It is listed as one of three principal pre-Hispanic powers of the region in the "Relación de Tēōcapotlan,"¹⁰ though we know that it lost its independence in 1511 or 1512.⁶³⁵

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the south lay sister Mixtec states such as Puctla and Zacatepec, which defied the Mexicans successfully, to the east and north the Empire province of Coayxtlahuacan, and to the west that of Yoaltepec.⁶³⁵

Regional names.—Tlachquiauco lay in what is commonly called the Mistecapan.

TRIBUTE

The only data available on the tribute of Tlachquiauco Province comes from the *Codex Mendocino*:⁶⁵¹

CLOTHING

- 400 large mantles*
1 warrior's costume and shield*

OTHER GOODS*

- 20 vessels of gold dust
5 sacks of cochineal
400 bunches of quetzal feathers

35. COAYXTLAHUACAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Coayxtlahuacan appears on page 21 of the *Matricula* and is copied on folio 43^o of the *Codex Mendocino*. It contained eleven principal towns,¹¹⁴ all of which have been found. They lay in northern Oaxaca. In the *Matricula* the towns of "Cohuaxtlauacā," "Tamaçolapan," and "Tepozcololan" are identified in the roman alphabet; and

¹⁰ *PNE*, 4: 193: "dixen los yndios que poco antes que los españoles viniesen solos auian los de Tututepec que estos eran guerreros por si, y los de Tlachiaco, que tambien eran guerreros por si, y Montecuma que era el Señor de México."

¹¹ Anderson and Barlow, "The White Tribute of Moctezuma's Empire," *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden* (1943), 30: 414-415.

¹² Cortés (*Cartas y relaciones* [1866], pp. 152-153) speaks of twelve towns in the province of "Coastaca."

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was Mixtec in speech, except for Cuicatec (extending eastward from Cuicatlan), Chinantec (north and east of Atladlaucca), and, curiously enough, Chocho-Popoloca in the very heart of the province (Tamaulapan to Coayxtlahuacan).

101 In Coayxtlahuacan Province centered the rich and complicated
175 Mixtec culture, concerning which some detailed information has been preserved for us in such codices as the Nuttall and the Vindobonensis. Most extensive data on the pre-Hispanic history and ethnography of this region can be recovered from these manuscripts when they are fully studied. Many of the towns of this province were originally important city-states, with their own dynastic histories.

171 Among the notable cultural differences separating the peoples of
805 this province from the Náhua, are such variant calendar systems as the Mixtec, studied by Jiménez Moreno,² and the Cuicatec, in the still inadequately investigated "Codex Fernández Leal."

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—At the height of the Empire of Moctezuma, Coayxtlahuacan had certain half-intimidated (though not actually subjected) zones to the north, the sprawling Empire province with its Oaxaca garrison to the east, the still resisting Mixtec city-states³ to the south, and Tlaxiaco and other Mixtec towns, recently overrun, to the west.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was exploited for the following items:

CLOTHING

- [291] 400 bundles of quilted mantles, richly decorated**
400 bundles of mantles, striped red and white**
400 bundles of black-and-white mantles**
400 bundles of loincloths**
[714] 400 bundles of women's blouses and skirts**
2 warriors' costumes together with shields*

* *Códice de Yauhuitlan.*

** Such as Puebla, Zacatepec, and others the relaciones of which appear in *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix.

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OTHER GOODS*

- 2 strings of chalchiuites
- 800 bunches of quetzal feathers
- 1 royal emblem called *tlalpiloni*
- 40 sacks of cochineal
- 20 bowls of gold dust

651

[316

25]

Tribute of the component towns.—A few details exist concerning the way in which the payment of this rich tribute was apportioned. 632 651

Atlautla and a fellow town paid cochineal, cotton mantles, green and varicolored feathers, and chalchiuites, all of which they purchased from other towns by means of little cotton mantles which served as money. They also gave military aid. [43]

Cuicatlan gave feathers, gold, and "piedras" to the tribute collectors, who relayed these items to higher officials. The collectors themselves were given (mordida?) mantles and food, and sometimes fruit was sent to the Mexican garrisons in the Mixteca."

Chila's presents of gold jewels and mantles have been mentioned."

Ixitlan claimed to have given no tribute other than gifts presented on visits to the capital. These presents were rich feathers and precious stones and live snakes to feed the birds of the Royal Aviary."

Malinaltepec shared in giving the items listed under Atlautla, above.

Papalotipac gave gold dust and food for the Mexican garrisons."

* PNE, 4: 165. The fellow town was Malinaltepec: "le daban en cada pueblo de cierta cantidad de grana cochinilla, mantas de algodón y plumería verde y de todas colores, y unas piedras verdes ... y estos generos de cosas las iban a buscar a otros pueblos los yndios, y las rescataban a trueque de unas mantillas de algodón del tamaño de un pliego de papel, que corría entre ellos por moneda ... y quando los capitanes de Montecuma les mandaban que embiasen gente de guerra para ir a otras conquistas, lo hacían."

* PNE, 4: 185: "Y para quel dicho su Señor tributase a Montecuma, de quien era su sujeto, buscaban los naturales plumas, oro, piedras, y a los cobradores que venían a cobrar este tributo por Montecuma, les daban mantas, comida y otros presentes, sin lo que pagaban al gran Señor que hera Montecuma, y algunas veces enviaban frutas a los que estaban en las guarniciones de Montecuma en la provincia de la Mixteca."

* See Chila, above.

* PNE, 5: 75: "— era sujeto al real ymperio de Mexico, no le daban tributo ninguno mas de quando yvan a verle a Mexico le llevaban en presente plumas ricas y piedras preciadas y culebras bibas para dar a comer a las aves de bolateria y muchos jeneros de aves preciadas que tenía." The Royal Aviary stood where the later Convento de San Francisco was built.

* "En tiempo de su ynfidelidad y antes que los españoles los sujetasen obedecían a Montecuma ... Lo que tributaban los naturales a su Señor natural y este a Montecuma era oro en polvo, bastimentos que llevaban a las guarniciones donde Montecuma tenía gente de guerra" (PNE, 4: 90).

- 632 Petaltzincó was obliged to feed Empire troops when they passed
 651 through the town."

Tepeucila contributed mantles and tiger skins bought from their neighbors, and a few feathers."

Texopan gathered these items for the tribute: parrot feathers, slaves, and small amounts of cochineal."

Coçolan was a gold-producing region which caught the eye of Cortés very quickly—doubtless because of the display of tributes in the capital."

36. COYOLAPAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

- 635 Coyolapan was a huge province, the heart of the State of Oaxaca. The
 104 principal native towns numbered eleven, nine of which have been located. They are depicted on page 22 of the *Matricula* and in the *Mendocino* copy on folio 44'. The cabecera and one other town are identified in roman letters in the *Matricula*. The modern map which
 128 has served to reconstruct the province is the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México." Correspondences between former and modern names follow:

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MENDOCINO

Camotlan, 3
 Coyolapan, 21
 Etlan, 9
 Guaxacac, 19
 Macuilxochic, 22
 Octlan, 29
 Quauxilotitlan, 10
 Teticpac, 26
 Tlalcuechahuayā, 24

MILLIONTH MAP

Camotlán
 Cuilapam
 Etla
 Oaxaca de Juárez
 Macuilzóchitl
 Ocotlán
 [See Remarks on Towns]
 Tētipac (San Sebastian)
 [See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns represented on the *Matricula* page remain to be located: Quatzontepec and Teocuitlatlan.

"PNE, 6: 70: "... era sujeto al Ymperio mexicano, y no dauan ningun tributo mas de que eran obligados a dar a los exerxios de México que por el dicho pueblo de Petaltzincó pasauan bastimentos."

"PNE, 4: 95: "... los sujeto Montecuma y le sirvieron tributandole mantas y cueros de tigres que conpravan de los pueblos comarcanos y algunas plumas."

"PNE, 4: 55: "... estaban subgetos a su rrey Motecuma ... daban de tributo a su rrey Motecuma esclavos, plumas de papagayos y grana en poca cantidad."

"Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), p. 152: "envié á buscar oro á la provincia de zuzula."

The Mixtec-Zapotec Zone

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in the relación of the "pueblos peñoles," hence we have restored the proper spelling. 632

Quauxilotitlan appears in the sixteenth-century sources as "Guaxilotitlan," two leagues from Etlan, the name being derived from "quauxilotl." It should not be confused with *Quauxiloticpac*, mentioned above. The inhabitants of *Quauxilotitlan* "were subject to Moctezuma for many years before the Spaniards came."¹³⁰

Teotitlan del Valle was subject first to the Zapotec lords (at Teozapotlan, and then to the government in exile at Tehuantepec) and afterwards to the imperialistic Mixtec of Coyolapan.¹³¹ And Coyolapan appears in the *Matricula*. [648]

Teotzacualco was a Mixtec city-state which had made an "arrangement" with Moctezuma a few years before the Spanish invasion.¹³²

Teozapotlan, or "Zaachila," as it is better known, was the traditional seat of Zapotec power. Since various pueblos of the Valley of Oaxaca, in their sixteenth-century relaciones, are said to be subject to Teozapotlan, no mention being made of Moctezuma, it is important to point out that Teozapotlan fell before the Mixtec of Coyolapan late in aboriginal history (the Zapotec caciques then retiring to Tehuantepec). Coyolapan in turn was subjugated by the Triple Alliance.¹³³ Consequently, any town said to be subject to Teozapotlan may be considered to be subject to the Mexica.¹³⁴ The relación of Teozapotlan speaks only of a near-by Mexican garrison close to Oaxaca City which had been put there "by means of good friendship and without war." Teozapotlan is stated to have been quite independent (a reminiscence of earlier and better times?) and to have paid tribute to this Mexican garrison "only in order to be friendly." Tribute is tribute. [651]

¹³⁰ PNE, 4: 197: "los naturales del estaban sujetos muchos años aya, antes que los españoles binyesen, a Moctezuma."

¹³¹ PNE, 4: 105.

¹³² RMEH, T. 1, Appendix, p. 175: "En tiempo de su gentilidad reconocian á su señor natural que abian traydo del pueblo de tilantongo ... que pocos tiempos antes que los españoles binyesen los sujeto montesuma por concertos que entre ellos vbo."

¹³³ "Relación de Cuilapa," *Tlalocan* (1945), 2: 19-20.

¹³⁴ The truth of this assumption is confirmed by the relación of Macuilxochic (PNE, 4: 102: "... les mandava el señor del pueblo de Teocapotlan") and by the glyph of that town in the *Matricula*; also, by the relación of Teticpac (PNE, 4: 111: "en tiempo de su infidelidad tenían por señor al cacique de Teocapotlan y despues tuvieron a Moctezuma Señor de Mexico") and see also the *Matricula*.

¹³⁵ PNE, 4: 193: "dixen los yndios que poco antes que los españoles viniesen solo auian los de Tututepec que estos eran guerreros por si, y los de Tlachiaco que tambien eran

- 632 *Tecuicuilco* owned Moctezuma as lord after being conquered by force of arms.¹²⁷

Teticpac was subject to Teozapotlan, and later to Moctezuma.¹²⁸

Tlalcuechahuayan may be found on the Oaxaca map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento.

Tlacolula, by virtue of having been subject to Teozapotlan, was subject to Moctezuma.¹²⁹

Tlaliztacan is another subject of Teozapotlan, and therefore, it is to be inferred, of the Mexicans also.¹³⁰

Totomachapa may be found on the 1912 map of Oaxaca made by the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

Xaltianguisco, the Jaltianguis Santa Maria of today, is cited under its old name in a document of Ixtexpi,¹³¹ as well as in several other places.

Xilotepec was one of the "pueblos peñoles," all of which were subject to the Empire.¹³²

Yoloxonecuilan was a town the name of which has atrophied to "los Yolos." In its earlier form the name of this place appears in the conquest lists of the Empire, jointly with the names of such towns as Xaltianguisco and Itztitlan (6) (Ixtlán de Juárez?). Yoloxonecuilan had, moreover, the same cura as Atepec.¹³³

Zenzontepec appears late in the conquest lists of the Empire.

Çoquiapan and certain neighboring towns are said to have "recognized Moctezuma as lord."¹³⁴

- [65] guerreros por si, y Montecuma que era el Señor de Mexico: de todos estos tres solo auiá aqui quando vinieron los españoles una guarnición junto adonde es aora la ciudad de Antequera, la qual guarnición era de Montecuma: esta dizen los yndios que avia puesto allí por via de buena amistad y sin guerra, para pasar por allí adelante a Tecoahtec y Guatimala ... y dizen que a estos mexicanos no les dauan ningun tributo, sino por via de amistad, sino que el rrey de Teocapodan se tenia su señorio absolutamente."

¹²⁷ See Atepec, above.

¹²⁸ PNE, 4: 111. See Teozapotlan, above.

¹²⁹ PNE, 4: 145: "en tiempo de su ynfidelidad, truxieron por señor al señor del pueblo de Teocapodan el qual hera señor de toda esta tierra." See, however, Teozapotlan, above.

¹³⁰ PNE, 4: 179: "en tiempo de su gentilidad, tenia por señor al cacique e señor del pueblo de Teocapodan." See Teozapotlan, above.

¹³¹ PNE, 4: 20: "Santianquisco, questa dos leguas deste dicho pueblo hazia el norte." A relación of the town appears in RMEH, T. 2, Appendix, p. 123.

¹³² See Itzquintepec, above.

¹³³ GPM, pp. 92-93.

¹³⁴ See Atepec, above.

The Mixtec-Zapotec Zone

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—At the time of the Spanish Conquest the [197] predominant language of the province of Coyolapan was Zapotec, though the Zapoteca had lost their political power. Two other groups also inhabited the province.¹²⁸ If we draw a line from north to south through Malinaltepec, Etlá, Huaxolotitlán, Oaxaca, and Teozapotlán, then west to Totomachapa and Xilotepec, we delineate the western limits of Zapotec. The region beyond this line is Mixtec. In the northern panhandle, the fringe of the area in which Chinantec was spoken was a little south of Coaxomulco (1).¹²⁹

The advanced and dissimilar cultures of the Zapotec and Mixtec, [174] especially in the frontier zone of Oaxaca City, have become known in recent years through the investigations of Dr. Alfonso Caso.¹³⁰

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Coyolapan was one [635] of the far corners of the Empire. To the west and south it faced unfriendly Mixtec city-states, chiefly the huge realm dominated by Tototpec de Oaxaca. Eastward lay the Mixe and the "unprotected" Zapoteca. Both of these were uneasy frontiers. In the west and north, [131] [712] however, lay the strong Empire garrison of Coayxtlahuacan, in the province of the same name.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Coyolapan and its subject towns paid [651] ● the following tribute to the Triple Alliance:

CLOTHING**

400 bundles of richly worked mantles
800 bundles of large mantles

[291]

FOOD*

4 wooden cribs (2 of maize, 1 of beans, and 1 of chian)

[262]

OTHER GOODS*

20 gold disks, the size of an average plate and as thick as one's
forefinger
20 bags of cochineal

[316]
297

¹²⁸ Chatino, the tongue of the Zenzontepec region, may be classified with Zapotec.

¹²⁹ García Granados, "Contribución para la geografía etnográfica y lingüística de Oaxaca," *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* (1934).

¹³⁰ In addition to various monographs, Dr. Caso has also written a good summary in his *Las culturas mixtecas y zapotecas* (1939).

- 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Certain elements of the fore-
632 going tribute may be traced.

Atepec, Çoquiapan, Tecuicuilco, and Xaltianguisco acquired the
439 tribute items exacted from them—green (quetzal?) feathers and chal-
chiuites—by barter with other regions.¹²⁷

Coatlan gave gold and mantles, receiving military protection in return. (The gold tribute was three marks of gold dust quarterly in early colonial days.¹²⁸)

Eztetlan and five other towns jointly paid a tribute of gold and cotton mantles.¹²⁹

Huiztepec, as one of the "pueblos peñoles," gave gold and cotton mantles.

Itzquintepec gave part of a joint tribute of gold and cotton mantles.

Iztepexi, which had two masters, Mixtec and Mexican,¹³⁰ paid them tribute in base gold, green feathers, deer, maize, and turkeys; also, its inhabitants rendered personal services to the Mexican garrison near Oaxaca. The gold and feathers were acquired in a unique fashion, being earned by going to the Isthmus and working six months or a year there cultivating lands.¹³¹

Ocelotepec gave gold dust and mantles and cochineal, "all in small quantities and once a year," and received in return mantles, sandals, and feathers of many colors.¹³² This exceptional treatment was doubt-

¹²⁷ RMEH, T. 2, Appendix, p. 123, speaks of "cierto tributo que le pagaban en cada pueblo de cierta cantidad de Plumas verdes y Piedras verdes" obtained in trade.

¹²⁸ PNE, 4: 133. To Moctezuma "le tributaban oro en polbo y mantas, y el tenya quidade denbailles sienpre gente de guaranyon." To their colonial encomendero "segun dizen los antiguos naturales cada yndio tributaba en cada ochenta dyas tres marcos de oro en polb."

¹²⁹ For the tribute of this and the two following towns, see n. 105 above.

¹³⁰ See n. 106 above.

¹³¹ PNE, 4: 16. Suffering from double demands, "les pagauan de tributo oro baxo y plumeria verde y benados que tomauan en los montes y mayz y gallinas de la tierra, y leña, acudiendo con servicios personales a los mexicanos en Guaxaca ...," all without fixed tribute dates, "y la plumeria y oro que asi tributauan lo yban a buscar a Teguantepique y a la provincia de Soconusco e Guatemala, arquilandose en carga mercaderias de mercaderes y en beneficiar y cultivar tierras en la dicha provincia donde se detenian seys y siete meses y vn año, y otros se ocupauan en lo que por los señores y caciques deste pueblo les hera mandado, y por lo susodicho les pagauan oro y plumas verdes, y esto trayan y guardauan para pagar se tributo, y por tener a dos señores a quien acudir con los dichos tributos muchas veces quedauan confusos, y no osauan rebelarse contra ellos porque no los destruyesen a todos."

¹³² PNE, 4: 138. Ocelotepec "en su antigüedad tenyan por señor a monteçuma, señor de Mexico, al qual tributaban oro en polbo y mantas de que ellos se bisten, y grana, todo en poca cantidad, y en cada vn años [sic] vna vez, lo qual el recebia ... y el les enbiaba otras cosas de mas valor como eran mantas y los 'cactles' que ellos traen, y plumas de muchas colores."

less due to the strategic position of Ocelotepec on the Tototepec frontier. 651
632

Quauxiloticpac and five other towns gave a tribute of gold and cotton mantles.¹²⁰

Quauxilotitlan paid white cotton mantles and women's blouses, loincloths, little copper hoops, green birds called "xiuhtototl," and maize.¹²¹

Teotitlan del Valle rendered tribute of gold dust, cotton mantles, fowl, bundles of aji, and slaves. [567]

Teotzacualco paid chalchiuites and feathers and mantles of cotton and henequen, and also made special milpas of maize, beans, chia, and cotton—all of which went to the local Mexican garrison. [712]

Teticpac gave fowl, hares, rabbits, deer, and honey.¹²²

Tlacolula gave military service only.¹²³

Tlalitzacan paid in feathers, mantles, and military service.¹²⁴

Totomachapa joined the other "pueblos peñoles" in a tribute of gold and cotton mantles.¹²⁵

Xilotepec, like the other "pueblos peñoles," gave gold and cotton mantles.¹²⁶

¹²⁰ See Itzquintepec, above.

¹²¹ PNE, 4: 197: "estaban sujetos ... a Motecçuma, y el señorio que sobre ellos tenya hera que le tributauan mantas de algodón blancas y 'guaypiles' que son a manera de camysas, ques vna bestidura que las mugeres traen, y vnos pañetes que en la lengua mexicana se dizen maxtle, y vnas coronas de cobre a manera de guirnalda, y vnos pájaros verdes que en la dicha lengua se dicen xihuytototl, y maiz."

¹²² PNE, 4: 106: "e a todos estos señores que tuvieron les dauan de tributo oro en polvo, mantas de algodón e gallinas, fardos de agi, yndios por esclavos."

¹²³ RMEH, T. 1, Appendix, p. 175: "al cual dicho montesuma trybutaban piedras que entre ellos ay que se dizen chalchigüites y plumeria y mantas de algodón y nequen y que le bazian sementeras de mayz frizoles y chian y algodón todo lo cual se gastaba entre los soldados que en este dicho pueblo tenían de guarñicion."

¹²⁴ PNE, 4: 111: "el tributo que les davan heran gallinas, liebres, conejos, venados, miel."

¹²⁵ PNE, 4: 145: "al Señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan ... no les tributauan con cosa alguna sino con seruirle quando llamaua a la guerra." Presumably these services were kept up under the Mexica.

¹²⁶ PNE, 4: 179: "tributauan plumas, mantas, e le servian en yr a la guerra."

¹²⁷ See n. 105 above.

¹²⁸ See n. 105 above.

175 (Huatusco, Veracruz), Quecholtenanco (south of Chilapa), and 712 Yztzeyocan in the province of Quauhtochco. With these three glyphs, preserved only in the *Mendocino* and lost from the *Matricula*, our information about the garrison towns ends.¹

175 *Tributary towns in the Çitlattepec zone*.—Eleven other town glyphs 632 which must have been included in a section now lost from the *Matricula* are given in the *Mendocino* on folio 17*, ranging down the edge of the page and across the bottom in approved form. The towns fit neatly into our map, as they lie north and south of Tenochtitlan. We shall have to assume that they are the missing tributaries. They are treated as such in this section, even though we know nothing of their tribute.

103 Of the eleven towns of the tributary province, nine can be located; and these nine towns, listed below, form a series which is to be seen [128] on the 1:100,000 map, "Valle de México," of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1937):

MENDOCINO

Acalhuacan
Acolnahuac
Coatidan
Chalco Atenco, 6
Puputlan, 4
Tzonpanco, 2
Xaltocan, 3
Yztacalco, 5
Çitlattepec, 1

1937 MAP

[See Remarks on Towns]
[See Remarks on Towns]
[No change]
Chalco
Popotlan
Zumpango
[See Remarks on Towns]
Iztacalco
Çitlattepec

Other towns seem to have vanished: Coatlayauhcan and Huixachtitlan.

635 *Tlatelolco*.—A certain gap occurs in the very center of this queerly shaped province, between northerly Xaltocan and southerly Yztacalco,

¹ Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], I: 302) speaks of three of the four major garrisons of the *Matricula*, Xoconochco, Oztoma, and Atlán or Teçapotitlan: "... parece ser que como el gran montezuma tenia muchas guarniciones, y capitania de gente de guerra, En todas las provincias, que siempre estavan junto a la rraya dellos, porque vna tenia En lo de soconusco por guarda de lo de guatemala y chiapa, y otra tenia En lo de guacaqualco y otra capitania En lo de mechuacan, y otra a la rraya de panuco, Entre tuçapan [? Tuchiça], y vn pueblo que le pusimos por nombre almeria [Nautla] ques En la costa del norte ...". He substitutes Coatzacoalco (of which he was encomendero) for Atzacan, omitting Huaxacac [Guaxacac] and Çopolan in Oaxaca, and Quecholtenanco in Guerrero—as well as the towns for which no governors are mentioned, Poctepet, Yztzeyocan, and Quauhtochco.

- 632 Santa Isabel, west of the Villa de Guadalupe) and "Coatepetl" [? Santa Clara Coatitlan]. Tezozomoc. (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 283) places it between Chiquiuh-tepec (Cerro del Chiquihuítte) and Coatitlan. Huixachtitlan should not be confused with Huixachtepetl, now Cerro de la Estrella, in the south of the Valley.

Puputlan was an insular settlement situated on the highway which ran from Tenochtitlan to Tlacopan. It still exists, though not as a separate town; it has now been incorporated into the City of Mexico. Popotlan is noted chiefly for the ancient *ahuehuete* called "El árbol de la Noche Triste."

Xaltocan, curiously omitted from the 1937 "Valle de México" map, may be found on the map of the State of Mexico, in the 1941 *Libros y revistas atlas*.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

- 197 *Inhabitants and languages*.—In the days of the Empire, Xaltocan was an Otomí center,^a whereas Tlatelolco was Náhuatl-speaking. The southern tip of the province (Chalco-Atenco) extended into another Náhuatl-speaking zone—that of the Chalca tribe.

- 635 *Provincial borders in 1519*.—This northern lake region faced the
131 remnants of the Chichimec Empire on the east (the province of Acolhuacan). To the north and west lay those of the later Tepanec Empire, centering in the provinces of Quauhtitlan and Quahuacan. Southwest lay the mainland province of Petlascalco, between the mountains and the lakes, down to the pass which leads into Morelos State today, around Amecameca.

TRIBUTE OF TLATELOLCO

- 651 Owing to the fragmentary condition of our evidence (a group of disordered glyphs in the *Mendocino* copy without a *Matricula* original by which to check), it is not possible to say anything regarding the tribute of the Çitlattepec zone—unless, by chance, it may have been included in the reckoning for Tlatelolco, given below.

For Tlatelolco the evidence is confusing; nevertheless, the writer ventures to present an outline of Tlatelolco's tribute, defended elsewhere.^a

^a Carrasco's thesis on the Otomí (in press) details its history.

^a Barlow, "Tlatelolco como tributario de la Triple Alianza," *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia* (1945), 4: 208-213.

The Heart of the Empire

131

CLOTHING

80 Huastec warriors' costumes, together with shields*
 800 bundles of wide mantles (quarterly)

651

[291]
714

FOOD (quarterly)

40 baskets of cacao ground with maize
 40 baskets of chian pinolli

[262]

OTHER TRIBUTE

Perpetual repair of the *teocalli* of Huitznahuac⁷

[358]

38. PETLALCALCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the verso side of the American Philosophical Society leaf (2A) of 635 the *Matricula* and on folio 20^r and 20^v of the *Codex Mendocino* the 114 tributary province of Petlalcalco is represented. Just as Çitlaltepec 131 and Tlatelolco included the northern lakes, so this province included the Lake of Chalco and its southern shore—the Pedregal. The tribute-gathering center lay in the zone of once powerful Azcapotzalco. On [128] the 1:100,000 map "Valle de México" of the Secretaría de Agricultura 103 y Fomento (1937) we find a number of the towns of this province:

MENDOCINO

Auchpanco
 Cocotlan, 15
 Colhuacacincó
 Cuitlahuac, 11
 Huiçilopochco, 9
 Mizquic, 14
 Olac, 12
 Petlalcalcatl, 8
 Tecalco
 Tecoloapan, 7
 Tepopulan, 16
 Tezcacoac
 Tzapotitlan, 10
 Xico, 13

1937 MAP

Ayapango
 [No change]
 [See Remarks on Towns]
 Tlahuac
 Churubusco
 [No change]
 [See Remarks on Towns]
 [See Remarks on Towns]
 [No change]
 [No change]
 [See Remarks on Towns]
 Zapotitlan
 [No change]

The list of missing towns, however, is extensive:

Acapan	Tlaçoxiuhco
Nextitlan	Toyac
Tepechpan	Xaxalpan
Tequemecan	Yopico

⁷ San Juan Huitznahuac, jurisdiction of Azcapotzalco, D.F. (?).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The northern part of this province was the heart of the Tepanec zone. The Tepanec tribe is assumed—with little proof—to have been Náhuatl-speaking. To the south were two other conquered tribes of better-known affiliation, the Chalca and Xochimilca, mutually related.

Provincial borders in 1519.—South of Petlascalco lay the sterile lava flows which separated it from the province of Chalco (Chalco-Tlalmanalco, not Chalco-Atenco), a province curving down through the mountain passes to Tepoztlan. To the west was the province of Quahuacan, and to the north Quauhtitlan, both at one time Tepanec strongholds. Eastward lay the lake provinces of Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco.

Regional names.—At least the zone around Petlascalco itself belonged to the former Tepanecapan—the Tepanec area subject (until 1428) to Azcapotzalco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The following materials were collected by the tribute gatherers to Petlascalco:

CLOTHING*

65 warriors' costumes with shields
2,400 loads of mantles of "twisted" cloth
800 loads of colored mantles
400 loads of loincloths
400 loads of women's clothing

[291
714]

FOOD*

1 bin of beans
1 bin of chian
2 bins of huauidi

[262]

[p. 134 is blank]

565
463
are they to serve in wars and on the frontiers." This was surely what happened in Tenochtitlan although unfortunately we have no such clear affirmation for this place.

/p. 24/ assert that among the Tenochcas there was present a marked differentiation with respect to labor: there were people who undertook manual labor and people dedicated to directive activities. These latter, also appear in our data strongly related to the calpulli.

565
463
651
The difference in the social division of labor which we have seen in the last paragraph had possibly as its principal manifestation the position with respect to the paying of tribute: some were tributaries and some received tribute. It is told us in this regard that "the poor macehuals worked all day for their tribute and in order to give food to them (to the lords) to eat; because in a village of a thousand people there are a chief /cacique/ and a hundred lords /principales/ among whom the village is divided into wards... and these eat and drink and loaf at the expense of the poor workers (or macehuals, as we have seen) who support it all; and this is a very old custom in all the provinces of the land" (8), (that is, also in Tenochtitlan and not through

8. López Gerónimo, 11, p. 151. Although the assertion of a confirmed pro-slavist, it is useful and synthesizes many isolated facts.

Spanish influence). From our data we conclude first, that the lords were approximately 10 percent of the population and moreover, that there was a division between people receiving tribute—those undertaking directive work—and people tributary—those who undertook manual work—, and there comes to light again the relationship between this social stratification and the division of land, only that now with respect to the paying of tribute, the lords receiving tribute were those in charge of the town wards. Everything is confirmed in other sources: we are told that the macehuals "worked a plot of land for their lord or head (of the calpulli) for his sustenance and gave him service according to the people there were in the village" (9). Another

9. Zurita, p. 142.

author tells us that the elders used to say "that the common people

565 contributed to their natural and legitimate masters in making their
463 houses and cultivating their plots... and they did the same for the
651 lords" (10). Taking into account all that has been said above it is

10. Anunciación, p. 237.

clear that the payment of tribute existed within the same Tenochca group and reflected a difference between two kinds of people, and that there existed a relationship between this stratification and the ward divisions. It also appears from our data that, besides the tribute to the lords, there was a tribute to the rulers [a los "señores"], to the chiefs [a los "caciques"], which is probably to say, to the chiefs of the whole group, not just to the lesser ward lords.

565 It is certain that as a result of the role in the division of labor and
511 of the difference between being tributary and tribute-receiving, great differences in the standard of living in the population came about in Tenochtitlan. The macehuals had "neither furniture, nor clothing other than what they wear on their persons, which is very poor, and one or two stones for grinding maize, and a few pots for cooking and a mat on which they sleep... and they eat little... the common people and the plebians are so tyrannized by their Indian lords that most of them have their rations taxed." (11). On the other hand we

11. Oviedo, III, p. 535. The weakness of the author cited vanishes by reason of its congruence with other authorities.

are told that the lords and rulers were always going to banquets and weddings (12) and that the princes slept in beds (13) and that the

12. López Gerónimo, II, p. 151.

13. Martín de Anglería, P., p. 470.

[525] rulers had and gambled with "precious stones and jewels and gold and featherwork, slaves, blankets of all sorts, and arms and trappings of war" (14). We have all seen, likewise, the diversity which the

14. Pomar, p. 27. Although the fact refers to Texcoco, it coincides with what is known in less

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22. Pomar, p. 25. Actually Pomar gives contradictory information: "they always leave as heir to their estate the son of the legitimate wife" and "to the most virtuous, although he be the youngest... (or) of the other women." Nevertheless, paternal inheritance remains as the fact common to all.

information does not refer to Tenochtitlan, certainly it was valid also for the lords of that place, and Zurita does confirm it in part (23).

23. Zurita, p. 90.

Another author tells us that in cases of rebellion by the lords, they were removed and the rulers placed a near relative, such as a brother, in his place, but not his son (24). It resulted from this that the legal

24. Mendieta, History [Historia], p. 154.

heir of the calpulli chief was in these cases a relative of the predecessor, although not necessarily his son: possibly it can be said that the relatives of the chief of the calpulli were lords, that they could potentially become tribute-exactors like the chiefs if they ever achieved this category, and that not all did achieve it. However, the wives and children of the calpulli chief certainly had the benefit of the tribute paid to him (25).

25. Muñoz Camargo, with respect to Tlaxcalla tells us that "the family estates [mayorazgos] entailed by them (the pillis), are never divided, and they (this must refer to the macehuales) were obliged only to support all the relatives and brothers of that family" (p. 8).

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651
We are told that there were in the wards other persons of authority besides the chief, such as the telpochtlatlo (26) or director of the school

26. Torquemada, II, p. 220.

of each ward, who certainly lived from tribute. We are told on many occasions of tribute for the temples (see page 42) thus making some

565
651 priests tribute receivers. But there are still some other very important complementary data: on one hand that "painters, whom they called tlaculoca (sic: tlácuiloque), were exempted from contributions and from some services... also the singers... and the players of instruments... neither did the instructors contribute..." (27). On the other

27. Fuenleal, p. 249.

hand we know that all who contributed were called macehuales (28)

28. Fuenleal, p. 249.

and that the relatives of rulers and some lords did not contribute (29),

29. Oviedo, III, p. 535.

from which we can infer that the musicians, singers, instructors, etc. who did not contribute, were people from among the rulers and lords, and not from the macehuales; although such a conclusion is not absolutely necessary or compelling.

[729] There are, nevertheless, within the scheme of the tributary macehuales and the tribute-exacting lords some exceptions: those who distinguished themselves in war were exempted from taxation (30),

30. Fuenleal, p. 249.

which obliges us to think that they were macehuales who enjoyed a privilege which the other macehuales did not have. Certainly these macehuales were the ones who were made nobles by favor (31) and

31. Sahagún, II, p. 308.

about whom there are no data to indicate that they received tribute, that is that they were "nobles," lords by inheritance, nor could they have "tenants" ["terrasqueros"] (32), that is, could live from tribute,

32. Torquemada, II, p. 546.

and /p. 28/ who for that reason, like the common macehuales, personally worked their lands: their distinctive character was simply that

565 of not contributing. On the other hand we have a counterpart to these
 ● 651 macehuals who did not contribute: there were lords who being caught
 [68] in a crime were punished by "being condemned to death" or to exile
 or to being sheared, or they were made macehuals (33), that is, they

33. Sahagún, II, p. 308.

were pillis from whom was taken the right to exact tribute and on whom was imposed the obligation of contributing. We saw also earlier that not all lords were exempt from contribution. We can think, nevertheless, that these cases must have been an exception, and that in general the macehuals were tributary and the pillis tribute-exacting.

We would thus have in Tenochtitlan a whole gamut of people in different situations with respect to tribulation: people receiving tribute from all tribute-paying persons, people receiving tribute from the members of their calpulli, people neither tributary nor tribute-receiving, and people not tribute-receiving but tributary. According to the above data there is no doubt that there was present a marked differentiation among these levels of the population, at least. If we were to take these data only into account, of course we would have to think that the Tenochca society had classes; but if we analyze other data at our disposal, we will see the great importance which inheritance had in the belonging to each one of these levels (except that composed of the valiant in battle), which removes the class-like character from them. In the first place we are told that upon
 565 the birth of children "they were washed by the priests and after being
 852 washed they [the priests] would place in the child's right hand a tiny sword and in the left, a little shield." The children of the common people were given the insignia of their occupation, and all this beneath some idol" (34). From this it is inferred that the people were

34. Acosta, José de, p. 425.

differentiated by their rank from birth: some were born destined to serve in war and on the frontiers (those with the little shields, who were not commoners) and were not to apply themselves to base work, and others were born destined to be laborers and to have humble and
 565 vile occupations. Now this situation was hereditary since the pillis were called "lords" (35) and were the sons and grandsons and

THE CEMPOALANS RETURN TO THEIR HOMES. 27

our deaths. The Great Montezuma would order them to be killed because they were leading chiefs of Cempoala, and had broken their fealty by refusing to pay him tribute and by imprisoning his tax gatherers when the rebellion took place which I have already written about in the course of this story. 500
651 ●

When Cortés observed the determination with which they demanded permission, he answered them through Doña Marina and Aguilar that they need not have the slightest fear that they would come to any harm, for, as they would go in our company, who would dare to annoy either them or us? and he begged them to change their minds and stay with us, and he promised to make them rich. Although Cortés pressed them to stay, and Doña Marina put it in the most warm-hearted manner, they never wished to stay, but only to return to their homes. When Cortés perceived this he said, "God forbid that these Indians who have served us so well should be forced to go," and he sent for many loads of rich mantles and divided them among them, and he also sent to our friend the fat Cacique who was Lord of Cempoala two loads of mantles for himself and for his nephew the other great Cacique named Cuesco. He also wrote to his lieutenant Juan de Escalante whom we had left there as Captain, and who at that time was Alguacil Mayor, and told him all that had happened to us, and how we were now on our way to Mexico, and he told him to look well after his neighbours, and to keep a good watch, and by day and night to be on the alert, and to finish building the fortress, and to help the natives of those towns against the Mexicans, and not to let any of the soldiers who were with him annoy the [friendly] natives in any way whatever. When this letter was written and the people of Cempoala had left us, we set out on our journey, keeping well on the alert.

NATIVES COMPLAIN OF MONTEZUMA'S TYRANNY. 31

and fifty pesos and they said :—"Malinche, accept these presents which we give you and look on us in the future as your friends." Cortés received them with great good will and promised to help them in whatever they needed, and when he saw them together he told the Padre de la Merced to counsel them regarding matters touching our holy faith, and that they should give up their Idols, and he told them all that we were accustomed to say in all the towns through which we had passed, and to all this they replied that it was well said and that they would see to it in the future. Cortés also explained to them about the great power of our Lord, the Emperor, and how we had come to right wrongs and to stop robbery, for it was for this purpose that our Emperor sent us to these countries. [43]

When they heard this, all these towns that I have named, secretly, so that the Mexican Ambassadors should not hear them, made great complaints about Montezuma and his tax gatherers, who robbed them of all they possessed, and violated their wives and daughters, if they were handsome, before them and their husbands, and carried them off, and made the men work as though they were slaves, and made them carry pine timber and stone and firewood and maize either in their canoes or over land, and many other services such as planting cornfields, and they took their lands for the service of the Idols. They made many other complaints, which, as it was many years ago, I do not remember. (51) •

Cortés comforted them with kindly words which he knew well how to say to them through Doña Marina, but added that at the present moment, he could not undertake to see justice done them and they must bear it awhile [and] he would [presently] free them from that rule, and he secretly ordered two of their chiefs to go with four of our Tlaxcalan allies, and inspect the cleared road, which the people of Huexotzingo had told us not to follow, and to [839]

643 servants and bread makers and cacao makers his expenses must have been very great.

644 Let us cease talking about the expenses and the food for his household and let us speak of the Stewards and the Treasurers and the stores and pantries and of those who had charge of the houses where the maize was stored. I say that there would be so much to write about, each thing by itself, that I should not know where to begin, but we stood astonished at the excellent arrangements and the great abundance of provisions that he had in all, but I must add what I had forgotten, for it is as well to go back and relate it, and that is, that while Montezuma was at table eating as I have described, there were waiting on him two other graceful women to bring him tortillas, kneaded with eggs and other sustaining ingredients, and these tortillas were very white, and they were brought on plates covered with clean napkins, and they also brought him another kind of bread, like long balls kneaded with other kinds of sustaining food, and "pan pachol" for so they call it in this country, which is a sort of wafer. There were also placed on the table three tubes much painted and gilded, which held *liquidambar* mixed with certain herbs which they call *tabaco*, and when he had finished eating, after they had danced before him and sung and the table was removed, he inhaled the smoke from one of those tubes, but he took very little of it and with that he fell asleep.

644 Let us cease speaking about the service of his table and go back to our story. I remember that at that time his steward was a great Cacique to whom we gave the name of Tápia, and he kept the accounts of all the revenue that was brought to Montezuma, in his books which were made of paper which they call *Amal*, and he had a great house full of these books. Now we must leave the books and the accounts for it is outside our story, and say how Monte-

MONTEZUMA'S FRONTIER GARRISONS.

89

him. It was then that we captured Montezuma's tax gatherers, as I have already related in the chapter that treats of that subject. When we left Cempoala to come to Mexico there remained in Villa Rica, as Captain and Chief Alguacil of New Spain, one Juan de Escalante, who was a man of high standing, and a friend of Cortés, who ordered him to render to these friendly towns all the assistance they might need. 721

It appears that the great Montezuma kept many garrisons and companies of warriors in all the frontier provinces, there was one at Soconusco to guard the frontier of Guatemala and Chiapas, another at Coatzacoalcos, and another on the frontier of Michoacan,¹ and another on the frontier of Panuco, between Tuxpan and the town which we called Almeria, on the north coast. And it appears that this garrison near to Tuxpan, demanded tribute of Indian men and women, and supplies of provisions for their people from certain towns in the neighbourhood, which towns were allied to Cempoala and did service to Juan de Escalante and to the settlers who were stationed at Villa Rica and were engaged in building the fort. When the Mexicans demanded tribute and service from these towns they replied that they would not give it, for Malinche had ordered them not to do so, and the great Montezuma had approved. Then the Mexican Captains replied that if they did not pay tribute that they would come and destroy their towns and carry them off captive, and that their Lord Montezuma had recently given them those orders. 712 721 651 721

When our Totonac allies heard those threats they came to Juan de Escalante and complained loudly that the Mexicans were coming to rob them and devastate their country. On hearing this, Escalante sent messengers to

¹ Mechuacan in the text.

ORDÁS VISITS COATZACOALCOS.

131

Umbria said that not far from Mexico there were large towns occupied by cultured people, and it seems that they must have been the towns belonging to that relation of Montezuma, and there was another province named Matalzingo. From what we saw and inferred, Umbria and his companions came back enriched with plenty of gold and well provided for, and it was for this purpose that Cortés had sent him, so as to make a friend of him, on account of what had happened in the past, which I have already spoken about. 648

Let us leave this man who came back with a good profit, and turn to Captain Diego de Ordás who went to see the river of Coatzacoalcos, which is one hundred and twenty leagues distant from Mexico. He said that he passed through very large towns which he named, where all the people paid respect to him, and that on the road near to Coatzacoalcos he came on Montezuma's garrisons on the frontier, and all the neighbourhood complained of them, on account of the robberies they committed, and because they carried off their women and demanded other tribute. Ordás and the Mexican Chieftains who were with him reprimanded Montezuma's Captains who had charge of these troops and threatened that if they committed any more robberies that they would tell their Lord Montezuma, and he would send for them and punish them as he had punished Quetsalpopoca and his companions for robbing the towns of our friends, and at these speeches they were frightened. Then Ordás continued his journey to Coatzacoalcos, and he took only one Mexican chieftain with him. As soon as the Cacique of that province who was named Tóchel knew that he was coming, he sent his chieftains to receive him and showed him much good will, for all the people of that province had heard stories and reports of us and knew about us from the time when we came on the voyage of discovery with Juan de Grijalva, as I have written at length in a former

[651 ●
712]

CHAPTER CIV.

How Cortés told the great Montezuma that he should order all his Caciques throughout the land to pay tribute to His Majesty, for it was generally known that they possessed gold, and what was done about it.

As Captain Diego de Ordás and the other soldiers already named by me, arrived with samples of gold and the report that all the land was rich, Cortés, by the advice of Ordás and the other Captains and soldiers, decided to speak to, and demand of Montezuma, that all the Caciques and towns of the land should pay tribute to His Majesty, and that he himself as the greatest Chieftain, should also contribute from his treasure. Montezuma replied that he would send to all his towns to ask for gold, but that many of them did not possess any, only some jewels of little worth which had come to them from their ancestors. He at once despatched chieftains to the places where there were mines and ordered each town to give so many ingots of fine gold, of the same size and thickness as others that they were used to pay as tribute, and the messengers carried with them as samples two small ingots. From other parts they only brought small jewels of little worth. 651 ●

He also sent to the province whose Cacique and Lord was that near kinsman of his who did not wish to obey him, who has already been mentioned by me. This province was distant from Mexico about twelve leagues, and the reply the messengers brought back was to the effect that he neither wished to give any gold nor to obey Montezuma, that he also was Lord of Mexico and that the dominion belonged to him as much as to Montezuma himself, who was sending to ask him to pay tribute.

When Montezuma heard this he was so enraged that he immediately sent his seal and sign by some faithful

- 651 captains with orders to bring him as a prisoner. When this kinsman was brought into Montezuma's presence he spoke to him very disrespectfully and without any fear, and very valiantly, and they say that he had intervals of madness, for he was as though thunderstruck. Cortés came to know all about this, and he sent to beg Montezuma as a favour, to give this man to him as he wished to place a guard over him, for he had been told that Montezuma had ordered him to be killed. When the Cacique was brought before him Cortés spoke to him in a most amiable manner and told him not to act like a madman against his prince, and wished to set him free. However, when Montezuma heard this he said that he should not be set free but should be attached to the great chain like the other Kinglets already named by me.

Let us go back to say that within twenty days all the chieftains whom Montezuma had sent to collect the tribute of gold, as I have already mentioned, came back again. And as they arrived Montezuma sent to summon Cortés and our captains and certain soldiers whom he knew, who belonged to his guard, and said these formal words, or others of like meaning :—

“I wish you to know, Señor Malinche and Señores Captains and soldiers, that I am indebted to your great King, and I bear him good will both for being such a great Prince and for having sent to such distant lands to make inquiries about me; and the thought that most impresses me is that he must be the one who is to rule over us, as our ancestors have told us, and as even our gods have given us to understand in the answers we have received from them. Take this gold which has been collected; on account of haste no more has been brought. That which I have got ready for the Emperor is the whole of the Treasure which I have received from my father, which is in your possession and in your apartments.

13: Phillips

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NU7 Aztec NU7

TARASCO NU34

ZAPOTEC NU44

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METAL INDUSTRY OF THE AZTECS

The Aztec people had, however, some knowledge of metallurgy, A
for they melted the copper and cast it in moulds, an art which the 325
aborigines in the United States never seem to have acquired.
Cortez tells us that in the markets of the City of Mexico

"hatchets were sold made of copper alloyed with tin and that
this alloy was used with a silicious powder with which they cut the hard- 324
est stones."

The Spanish historians speak of Cholula, a very ancient City of A
Mexico, founded before the arrival of the Aztec, which excelled T
in metal working, and that the Tarascans living west of the valley 325
of Mexico were familiar with copper found in the mountains in 171
that district, which they worked into defensive armor, body plates
of wood covered with sheet copper. They also state that the Zapotec
made ornaments of copper obtained from the mines in Oaxaca.

Copper implements, however, were not common near the
City of Mexico but were plentiful in Oaxaca, Michoacan, and the A
Jalisco region. The T-shaped implements were found at Mitla, T
Central America, being abundant in the Zapotec country. The 325
objects, some made of very thin sheet copper, others heavier, 171
possibly cast, are of uncertain use; those too thin to be used as tools
for wood or stone, are thought to be instruments used in their
feather work or pottery, others regard them as a money currency
or exacted as tribute paid to the City of Mexico by the neighboring
cities, this latter being the general opinion.

The number as well as the variety of copper objects from A
Mexico found in our Museum collections, is rather limited, con- 325
sisting of a few copper ax heads, chisels, large and small, little 412
bells, finger rings, beads and pins. The peculiar T-shaped objects 301
are the most abundant, differing somewhat in shape and size.
An analysis of one of them in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge,
proved it to be simply copper. It was doubtful if the ancient
Aztec had a knowledge of bronze or knew how to obtain it until
shown by the Spanish invaders, and such analyses of Mexican
metal objects, giving a percent of tin to indicate a true bronze,
may have been implements made after the instruction by the
Spaniards. Some copper tools from Mexico when analyzed showed
a small amount of tin believed to have been an impurity in the

701 (Cortés' daring and successful seizure of the Mexican chieftain
[648] was easier than it is generally supposed, since the tribe was not prepared for it, but only for outside enemies.)¹⁶

712 It is equally untrue that any Mexican "garrisons" were main-
701 tained among conquered and subjected tribes.¹⁷ The military power of the Mexicans was preserved at home, in a latent state, so to say, but still, as we shall hereafter see, ready to sally forth at a signal from the council of chiefs directing their affairs. But this presupposed, on the part of the tribe, systematic training, proper armament, and a peculiar organization.

868 At an early age the boy was taught the use of the bow and arrow in fishing and hunting;¹⁸ also the use of the dart or javelin. The chase, both on land and water, was an introduction to the stern duty of war.

¹⁶ Ixtlixochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques ou des anciens rois de Texcoco," translation of Mr. Ternaux-Compan, chapter 85. "All the Spaniards forthwith returned to their palace, together with a great number of lords of the city, parents and friends of the King, which sought to read from his countenance whether he wished them to free him again). The same author (Relacion XIIIa. "The nobility, and all the military chiefs of Mexico, dumbfounded by this occurrence, returned to their houses"). Gomara, who (Vedia, I, p. 345. "Corte y guarda de Moteczuma,") mentions 3,000 body guards, forgets them completely (p. 331) when he relates Montezuma's capture. Cortés (Carta-segunda. Vedia, I, p. 27) does not speak of any guard being with the chief. Neither does A. de Tápia. Col. de Doc. II, p. 586.) The capture of Montezuma did not, however, have the desired effect. He was not as powerful as the Spaniards believed, and his influence vanished as soon as he was a prisoner, and therefore actually disqualified for office.

¹⁷ The bodies of Mexican warriors which Cortés may have met at different places out-side of Mexico when he moved upon that tribe the second time, were not garrisoning those places, but simply corps sent out specially against the Spaniards. Neither at Cempoal, nor at Quilahuiztlan, had he met garrisons of Mexican troops. In the fight wherein Juan de Escalante was killed, natives of the country, and not Mexicans, opposed him. Quauhpopoca was not a Mexican governor, but "chief of that place called Almeria" (Cortés, Carta Seg., Vedia, I, p. 26), "a vassal of Montezuma" (A. de Tápia, p. 579), "chief of Nahutlan" (Gomara, p. 334) (Clavigero, lib. VIII, cap. XXX).

Iztapalayan, Mexicaltzinco, Huiztilopochco, were not held by Mexican warriors when Cortés passed through those places. On the route from Cempoal to the confines of Tlaxcallan, through a country overrun formerly by the Mexicans, and tributary to them, there was not a single specifically Mexican stronghold, and no other Mexicans or Aztecs were met by Cortés than messengers and collectors of tribute; without any armed retinue whatever. No Mexican force hovered about the confines of Tlaxcallan, their most dangerous enemy, or "occupied" Chalco, the most warlike and unruly tribe of the valley, which Mexico had overpowered. Only the fear of the murderous forays which the Mexicans might execute, from their almost invincible stronghold in the lagoon, held those tribes in subjection; and no permanent military occupation. Tápia says: "In the conquered districts they put stewards and collectors, and although their own chiefs commanded the people, they were below Mexican power." (p. 579, Col. de Doc. II.)

¹⁸ A. de Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères et monuments des peuples indigènes de l'Amérique." Ed. 1816, 8vo, tom. II, p. 313). Also, "Raccolta di Mendoza," in Lord Kingsborough.

174 With continued increase of the population, the "tecpan" alone
 344 did no longer suffice, thus each "calpulli" erected, within its own
 area, its own council place for the transaction of its interior
 business, lodging in it, after the model of the "tecpan," its own
 chief-men, and exercising there its share of the general hos-
 pitality. So Mexico became dotted with public constructions,
 necessarily distinguished by their size and arrangement from the
 rest of the buildings.³²

[344] The chiefs and their families who resided in the official houses,
 574 and upon whom devolved the exercise of public hospitality,—con-
 643 tinued to participate for their share in the use of the soil held and
 651 cultivated by the "calpulli" to which they belonged by descent.

But whereas formerly they could improve these lands *themselves*,
 this became impossible with the increase of public business, and
 the task of cultivating them devolved, first upon their children
 and families, afterwards, when even these were required for the
 duties of the official household,—*upon the other members of the kin*.
 This was done, not in token of vassalage, but as a remuneration
 for the public services of the chiefs. The same took place in
 regard to the "tecpan" and its occupants. With the increase
 of intercourse, however, the scanty crops raised in this manner
 became insufficient, and a regular contribution, by each member of
 the different kinships, towards maintenance of the chiefs and the
 visitors they had to entertain, was instituted. Certain expanses
 were set aside, to be worked by communal labor, the products of
 which were exclusively devoted to what we may term "official
 purposes." Thus not only was there a tax created, voluntarily by
 the tribal components, for public purpose, but a new feature was
 introduced in the distribution of the soil. The mode of tenure,

[618] ³² These houses, sometimes called "calpulli," at other times "calpixra" were the
 priests' palaces, which the Spanish authors mention. They were but "official build-
 ings," probably connected with storehouses. As the tribe had its tecpan, so each cal-
 pulli, or localized kinship, its own council-house. This results from the organization
 of the kinship. See also "Art of War," pp. 103 and 104. What distinguished these con-
 structions from the common house or abode ("calli"), were the halls ("salas"), and the
 "tecpan" was further distinguished by a lookout or tower. (Durán, cap. XXVI, p. 215.
 Tezozomoc, cap. XXXVI, p. 56). This distinction places it parallel to the so-called
 "palace" of Palenqué in Chiapas. Compare further: Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 62).
 "At the annual gatherings, they (the chiefs of the calpulli) distribute gratuitously food
 and drink, to keep the Indians in good humor." Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. XIII,
 p. 190). If we were to believe the picture presented of Mexico by the authors of the
 16th and 17th centuries, Mexico would have possessed innumerable edifices of that
 kind.

however, was not changed, and no hereditary rights of property⁶⁴³
were called into existence in favor of the chiefs or their descen-⁶⁵¹
dants.³³

For nearly a century after the first settlement of the Mexicans¹⁷⁴
⁶⁴⁸

"No mention is made of any tax or tribute gathered for official purposes among the Mexicans until under the last Montezuma, when it is generally admitted, as Gomara says: "That all tributed to the chief of Mexico" ("Conq. de Méjico," p. 345, Vedis, I). Without accepting the views expressed by Robertson ("History of America," Book VII, p. 391. Vol. III, 9th Edition, 1800), who ascribes to the influence of Montezuma a change in the plan of government of the Mexican tribe,—it still appears but natural that as long as the tribe was weak in numbers and resources, the original or typical form of communal institutions prevailed, whereas with increased population and consequent increase of governmental labor the members of the tribe were compelled to provide for the maintenance of their officers and their families. The first step was to cultivate such patches of land for them as they held being members of some calpulli. These lands were the "pillali," commonly treated of as "patrimonial estates." Torquemada, however, says (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 546): "Another kind of lands they⁴²³
called pillali, or, so to say: Lands of Knights ("hidalgos") or nobles. Of these there⁵⁶⁵
were two kinds. In the first case the land was inherited with the nobility, and in the⁶⁵¹
other, the chief gave lands to such as had achieved distinction and valor in war, and were ennobled therefor. To these the chief gave lands for their sustenance, but they could not hold renters ("terrazgueros") but might sell to other chiefs, as if the conditional gift from the chief had not existed: and neither of these two classes could dispose of their tracts to any macehual (common man—perhaps from "maitl"—hand, and "ceualli"—shade,—the hand of some one who gives protection or shade), for in that case they lost them, and the chief entered in their possession. and they were applied to the calpulli in whose area they were located, in order that the said cluster might pay tribute according to the quantity of land contained:—*al-o*, if any one of them died without heirs, the chief inherited" Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). "These were lands which went with the Lordship, and which they called lands of the Lordship, and of these the Lords could not dispose, but rented them as they might and the rents were used in the house of the King, because there, besides all the principals, also ate the travelers, and the paupers, for which service the Kings were much honored and obeyed. What these rents did not furnish, was supplied by their patrimonial estates." Veytia (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 193). "For the present we shall but say, that in each pueblo and place there was a tract of land of best quality, which was of the Kings or Lord of the estate For the sowing and working of these lands the calpixque, an officer of the republic (state) in each pueblo, daily designated the common people who had to work them, and all the fruit belong integrally to the chief for the maintenance of his house." Ixtlilxochitl (Hist. des Chichim. cap. XXXV, pp. 242, 243 and 244). Bustamante ("Texcoco en los Ultimos Tiempos, etc." Part III, cap. V, p. 234, etc.). Oviedo ("Hist. gen. y nat." lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, p. 536, of 3d vol.) Now we have already established, that individual tenure of the soil was unknown, it is further proved that the offices were non-hereditary, we cannot fail, therefore, to recognize. 1°. In the "pillali" of Torquemada the original "chiaampa" held by chiefs as members of a kinship.

2°. In the tracts of Herrera and Veytia "official lands," specially reserved for the wants of official houses and their occupants. These lands went "with the office."

No date can be assigned to the introduction of this new feature among the Mexicans but we cannot help being struck by the fact that the Texcucan chroniclers make special mention of it, connecting it with the time when Nezahualcoyotl became chief of Texcoco (See Ixtlilxochitl "Hist. des Chichim." cap. XXXV. Veytia, Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 193. Bustamante, Part III, cap. V). The connection is implied rather than expressed, and but crosses the suggestion: that such a change might have occurred about the close of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries. Of course we allude here to the Mexicans alone, and not to the tribes of the mainland.

tribute was gathered by stewards, the only Mexicans permanently residing on Tecpanecan soil, and it was distributed in accordance with the tribal organization: among the calpules for the use of their public households and of their individual members, and to the "tecpan" for the maintenance of the tribal government and business; out of the former, a certain share was reserved for the purpose of religious worship.⁵⁶

This tribute consisted of objects held and acquired by the Tecpanecas through trade, war and their own manufacture. But it also included the products of their *horticulture*. These had to be raised annually either on their own garden-beds, or on a certain expanse reserved in each "calpulli" for the production of tribute. The Tecpanecas having the same system of distribution of the soil as the Mexicans, and the kindred group being the unit of their organization also, the latter method was naturally resorted to. Therefore in each one of the areas held by the calpules of the conquered tribe, a certain plot was set off, to be tilled in common by the members of the kin, for the benefit of their conquerors.

⁵⁶ Acosta says (Lib. VII, cap. XIII, p. 483), that they took all the lands for themselves: "with this, those of Azcapuzalco were left so poor, that they had not even crops of their own." Durán (Cap. IX, p. 79. "They went to Azcapuzalco and seized ('se entregaron') its lands and distributed them among themselves.") Tezozomoc (Cap. IX, p. 16 and 17). It is difficult to connect these and similar statements with the positive facts asserted by Zurita (Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle Espagne.) "The sovereign of Mexico had beneath him, in all matters relating to warfare, those of Tacuba and of Texcoco; in regard to all others, their powers were equal, so that neither of them intervened in the government of the others" (p. 11),—by Veytia (Lib. III, cap. III, p. 161), and even by Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichims," Cap. XXXIV, p. 233), which establish the complete territorial independence of the Tecpanecas from the Mexicans; even after their defeat. Durán also says (Cap. IX, p. 77): that the Tecpanecas promised tribute and lands. Tezozomoc (Cap. IX, p. 16) confirms, stating that they offered tribute, personal service, and assistance in war. We cannot conciliate these different reports except by admitting that the Tecpanecas submitted to the ordinary manner of Indian conquest, namely: to tribute, to military aid, and for the purpose of tribute, to the reservation of certain tracts whose crops were to go exclusively to the conquerors. Of the latter we have positive proof. See Durán (Cap. IX, p. 79). Tezozomoc (Cap. IX, p. 17). Only these authors mention that these tracts went to persons or individuals. But how is this possible, since no individual possession of land appears in Mexico, at the time of the conquest even; as we shall see further on. The tracts in question must, therefore, have been given to such persons as representatives of certain kinships, or "calpules," as Tezozomoc intimates, saying (Cap. XV, p. 21): "and let us distribute the lands among all of us, in order to hold of them some pastime and sustenance for us, our children and heirs." Besides, Durán asserts: that the division took place for the benefit of the chiefs, and of the quarters ("barrios," or calpules), which tends to prove that there were "official lands" and "lands of the kinship" set off for the conquerors on the conquered territory. That a portion of the latter provided for religious purposes, is established by Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XIII, p. 483), and by Durán (Cap. IX).

651 The crops raised thereon were again apportioned by the latter among themselves as we have explained previously, but they did not acquire any title to the *possession*, still less to the *ownership* of the soil itself.⁵⁷ Once started on their career of conquest, the

728 ⁵⁷ See Durán (Cap. IX. p. 79 and 80). Tezozomoc (Cap. IX. p. 16. "Para amansar y traer à paz à los Mexicanos que tan pujantes y orgullosos estaban contra los Tecpanecas, digieron estos: señores Mexicanos, como vencidos que somos de vuestros. y os tenemos dadas nuestras hermanas y hijas que os sirvan y vuestras mugeres. y nos proferimos à vasallage, y de todas las veces que fuédes en guerras y batallas con estrafias, lémos nosotros como vasallos, y lleváremos à vuestras vuestro matalotage. y lleváremos à vuestras vuestras armas, y en caso que en las guerras, algunos, à alguno de los Mexicanos muriere, nos proferimos à traerlos los cuerpos cargados à vuestra tierra, ciudad, à ser con honra enterrados, y venidos que seale de las guerras, y antes y después barerémos, y regarémos, vuestras casas, tendrémos cuidado de vosotros con nuestro servicio personal, pues así estamos obligados conforme à usanza de guerra, y nosotros de serridumbre." The Mexicans then spoke to themselves and said: "you now have heard the promises, subjection, and domination to which the Tecpanecas of Azcapotzalco submit, offering to give us wood, planking, stones and lime for our houses, to plant for us maize, beans, calabashes, spices of the country, chile, and tomato, and to be our servants, and the principals of them to become our stewards . . .") This expresses about the amount and measure of subjection of one tribe to another. Zurita further informs us (pp. 66 and 67). "When the Kings of Mexico, Tezenco and Tacuba conquered a province, they used to retain all the native chieftains in their offices; whether they were supreme or but inferior. The people always kept its property, finally the usages and customs of the established government were respected. These sovereigns designated territories proportionate to their conquests: the vanquished tilled them in common and made plantings appropriate to the soil. This kind of tribute, or homage ("homage-lige"), was paid to officers ("des intendants") established by the sovereigns of Mexico, of Tezcuco, or Tacuba, according as the vanquished had become vassals of one or of the other prince. Besides, they were liable to military service, which obligation rested indiscriminately on all the conquered provinces. The chiefs remaining Lords as before the war, preserved civil and criminal jurisdiction in the full extent of their domain." Nevertheless, we have detailed reports about certain lands having been applied by the Mexicans to certain chiefs (Tezozomoc, cap. XV. p. 24): it was done at the time that such chiefs received certain titles or dignities. These titles and dignities, however, were not hereditary, but elective (Durán, cap. XI, p. 103). "To these four chiefs and titularies, after they were elected princes) they made them belong to the royal council as presidents and members ("oydores") of the supreme council, without whose opinion (or consent, advice "parecer") nothing could be done, and the King being dead, from these and no others his successor had to be chosen, and neither could they be placed in such positions unless they were sons or brothers of Kings, and thus, if one of these four had been promoted, they put another one in his place, and it is to know that they never chose a son of him whom they elected for King, or of him who died, because as I have said, the sons did not obtain the titles through inheritance, but by election. Thus, whether son, brother, or cousin, if the King and his council elected him to any title, it was given to him,—it being sufficient that he belonged to that lineage and was a near relative, and thus the sons and brothers went succeeding title by title, and the title and Lordship remained in that generation (descendancy), being elected successively. These Lords had vassals who to them paid tribute, small pueblos, rented lands ("estancias terrageros") that gave them all kinds of supplies and clothing" It is also stated that the Mexicans, when they conquered the Tecpanecas, distributed of their lands to the quarters (Cap. IX. p. 79. Durán,—and Acosta, Lib. VII. cap. XIII. p. 483. "Señalaron tambien tierras de coman para los barrios de Mexico a cada uno las suyas, para que con ellas acudiesen al culto y sacrificio de sus dioses.")

Mexicans, supported by their allies, sought to extend their power. The tribes of the southeast, the Xochimilcas, the Chinampanecas, (also called the four chieftaincies: "Nauhteuctli") were the first to become their prey. Their fate, after they had once submitted, was the same as that of the Tecpanecas. The territory was not annexed, neither was the organization changed. But they were held to military assistance, and especially to tribute. The latter drew forth, as a consequence, the establishment of tribute-lands, like those which we have already met with at the close of the Tecpanecan war.⁵⁸

When finally, after a contest of unusual length and bitterness, the tribe of Chalco also had to submit to the same conditions of tribute and warlike control,⁵⁹—the Mexicans were really the leading power of the valley.⁶⁰ Their means of subsistence, besides, had greatly increased through tribute, among which the crops of the tribute-lands were most conspicuous—as well as through trade. One single tribe of the "Nahuatl" of the valley remained unsubdued, the Aculhuas of Tezcucó. Instead, however, of engaging in a deadly conflict, the result of which might have been equally

If we attentively consider the above, we find:

- (1). That no change was made in the tenure of lands, and no conversion of the Tecpanecan territory into a Mexican domain was effected by the conquest.
- (2). That certain expanses were set aside, which continued to be held by the conquered, and worked by them after the usual communal plan, but whose crops went exclusively towards the tribute.
- (3). That these crops were divided, corresponding to the organization of the Mexicans, —between the official requirements—"tecpán"—("calpulli" as official house for the quarters)—the people (quarters "barrios") and worship. The analogy with Peru (Inca, worship and people), is striking.

The distribution of lands to certain chiefs therefore, mentioned in connection with the conquest of the Tecpanecas, simply indicates that these lands were applied to the maintenance of such offices, and not an hereditary "señ" to a certain family. Durán positively expresses, that the office belonged in the "kin" ("lignea"—"generacion,") and was not hereditary. The lands therefore pertained to the office as a governmental feature of the kinship or calpulli, and not to the person or offspring of any incumbent. In the same way, certain tracts (or rather their crops), went to the tecpan or its occupants, as a governmental feature of the tribe (Bastamante, Parte III cap. V, p. 233).

⁵⁸ Durán (Cap. XII, Id. XIII, p. 114. XIV, p. 123). Tezozomoc (Cap. XVII, p. 28, XVIII, p. 29), and Acosta.

⁵⁹ Durán (Cap. XVII, p. 132). Tezozomoc (Cap. XXVI, pp. 39 and 40). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 403), etc. etc.

⁶⁰ Out of the five Nahuatl tribes who had originally settled in the valley of Mexico, three were then subjected to the Mexicans. Consequently the Tezcucans or Aculhuas alone remained. Territorially, the latter probably covered the larger expanse, but the Mexicans and their allies had the advantage in position and numbers.

soil, and to establish its customs at the time when the Europeans⁴²³ first trod the Mexican shore.

We readily distinguish several classes of lands, bearing each a different name, besides the "altepetlalli," or tribal territory or range. The latter was the widest circumscription for which the Nahuatl language had a term. (The word "Anahuac," which is often used, is utterly inapplicable, as we have elsewhere shown).⁷³ No other idea of tenure was connected with it, beyond that of *tribal occupation*.

Each of the numerous tribal areas, overrun by the confederacy⁴²³ (provided the natives were of a sedentary character), contained⁶⁵¹ what we have ventured to call tribute-lots. The name given to⁶⁴⁸ these tracts was possibly "yaotlalli," but rather "milchimalli" ("lands of war," and "shield-lands").⁷⁴ As before said, the soil of these tracts was still held in original tenure by the kinships composing the conquered tribe, but the *crops* went towards the tribute. There is no indication about the size of these areas, and they were the only ones directly connected with the conquerors.

Of those tracts whose products were exclusively applied to the⁶⁵¹ governmental needs of the pueblo or tribe itself (taken as an in-⁴²³dependent unit) there were, as we have already seen, two particular classes:

The first was the "tecpan-tlalli:"—land of the house of the community, whose crops were applied to the sustenance of such as employed themselves in the construction, ornamentation, and repairs of the public house. Of these there were sometimes several within the tribal area. They were tilled in common by special families who resided on them, using the crops in compensation for the work they performed on the official buildings.⁷⁵

⁷³ Brasseur de Bourbourg ("Ruines de Palenqué," Cap. II, p. 32, and note 10) makes the very sensible remark that the name "Anahuac" did not at all apply to a "state" or "empire," etc., but is general to all countries situated in the neighborhood of considerable bodies of water;—such as lakes or large streams; or the shores of the sea. [104]

⁷⁴ MSS. from Simancas "De l'ordre de succession observe par les Indiens relativement à leurs Terres et à leurs Territoires communaux," translated by Mr. Ternaux-Compan in "Recueil de Pièces," etc., pp. 223 and 224. Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 346). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIV. He includes them positively in the soil of the kinships, and treats them as communal lands, the produce of which furnished military supplies). "Yaotlalli" is improper (see "Art of War," p. 133, note 158), but "Milchimalli" is possible.

⁷⁵ From "tecpan," chief-house (Molina, Parte II, p. 95), and "tlalli," soil (Id. p. 124). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 346). "There was another class of lands which belonged to the chief's income; and those who dwelt on them and cultivated them were

- 651 The second class was called "tlatoa-tlalli"—land of the speak-
 423 ers. Of these there was but one tract in each tribe, which was to be "four-hundred of their measures long on each side, each measure being equal to three Castilian rods."⁷⁶ The crops raised on such went exclusively to the requirements of the household at the "tecpa," comprising the head-chief and his family with the assistants.⁷⁷ The tract was worked in turn by the other members

called Tecpanpouhqui, or Tecpantlaca, which signifies: people of the palace and rents of the King. Such were held to keep in repair the royal palaces, clean the gardens, and to attend to the cleanliness and to the necessities of the royal palaces. They were regarded with much respect, as people most directly connected with the houses of the King. When the Lord sallied forth, they accompanied him, and they paid no other tribute but bouquets (Itamilletes, flower-bunches) and birds of all kind, which they offered to the King. Such lands descended from father to son, but they could not sell them, nor dispose of them in any way, and if one of them died without heirs, or left the place, his house and lands remained for those of his kin ("parcialidad") to put another in his place, according to the commands of the King, or of the Lord.—Herrera (Dec. III, lib. cap. XV, p. 133).—Veytia (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 196). "Besides these each pueblo also had other kinds of lands called tecpantlalli, or lands of the palace or rentals of the chief, because its crops also went integrally towards the constructions and repairs of the palaces of the Kings, and towards other expenses aside from the sustenance. The people who cultivated them were also plebeians, but they were set apart for it in each place, and were called tecpanpouhque or tecpantlaca, that is, people pertaining to the palaces, and they could not work any other lands." Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichimèques" cap. XXXV, p. 242). "There were others known by the name of Tecpantlali, or lands which depend from the palaces of the Lords. The Indians tilling them were called tecpanpouhque, or people connected with the palaces of the Lords". Bustamante ("Tezcoco," etc., Parte III, cap. V, pp. 233 and 234). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIV). "The ownership of the crownlands, called Tecpantlalli, remained in the King, but certain gentlemen called Tecpanpouhque or Tecpantlaca, i.e. people of the palace, had the enjoyment thereof. These paid no tribute but flowers and certain birds which they offered to the King in token of allegiance. But they were obligated to keep the royal palace in repair, or to construct new ones if needed; to tend to the royal gardens, and to care for the vassals in their district. It was their duty to attend court, to escort the King, if he appeared in public; and thus they were highly considered. If one of them died, his son succeeded in all his duties, but he lost his rights by removing from the place, in which case the King gave him the use of another tract, or left it to the community, in whose area the land lay, to assign to him another piece."

The above quotations show conclusively that the soil of the "tecpantlalli" was held and vested in the King, and only the crops went to certain official purposes. The occupants thereof were not serfs, since it is implied that they might remove at their pleasure, but, as any other members of a calpulli, in accordance with what we shall hereafter show, they lost by removal their right of use to that particular tract. They were properly the "official artisans."

[804] ⁷⁶ Ixtlilxochitl (Hist. des Chichim., cap. XXXV, p. 242). Vedia (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 195). "This had to be four-hundred of their measures in square ('encuadro,' each side long); each one of these being equal to three castilian rods. . . ." See "Art of War" (p. 244, note 183). "The rod" (vara) is equal to 2.73260 feet English (Guyot).

⁷⁷ From "tlatoa" speakers, or "tlatoani" speaker, and "tlalli." Simancas M. S. S. on the customs of succession ("Recueil de Pièces, etc." p. 223). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). "There were other kinds of lands that were attached to the lordship (office?), which they called of the lordship, and of these the Lords could not dispose, and letted them to whom they pleased, drawing much rent from them,

2 [Erratum; should be "Kiu"; See 16: Bandelier, cat. 116, p. 663,
 note 216.-Analyst]

of the tribe, and it remained always public ground, reserved for the same purposes.⁷⁸ 651
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Both of these kinds were often comprised in one, and it is even not improbable that the first one may have been but a variety of the general tribute-lands devoted to the benefit of the conquering confederates. Still, the evidence on this point is too indefinite to warrant such an assumption.

While the crops raised on the "tecpan-tlalli," as well as on the "tlatoca-tlalli," were consumed exclusively by the official houses and households of the tribe, the soil itself which produced these crops was neither claimed nor possessed by the chiefs themselves, or their descendants. It was simply, as far as its products were concerned, official soil.⁷⁹

The establishing and maintaining of these areal subdivisions was very simple with the tribes of the mainland, since they all possessed ample territories for their wants and for the requirements of their organizations. Their soil formed a contiguous unit. It was not so, however, with the Mexicans proper. With all their industry in adding artificial sod to the patch on which

spending it in the house of the King.") Ixtlilxochitl (*Ibid.* cap. XXXV, p. 212. "In the best location of the territory there was set off a field, which held exactly four hundred measures in length and breadth. This was called Tlatocatlali or Tlatocamilli that is: land or plantation of the Lord, and also Itonal Yutlaca, or lands on which the inhabitants are compelled to work.") Oriedo (*Lib. XXXIII*, cap. II, p. 537). Veytia, (*Lib. III*, cap. VI, p. 125, confirms Ixtlilxochitl almost verbally, adding: "For the sowing and cultivation of these the calpixque, which was an officer of the community in each pueblo, daily designated those who had to attend to it, out of the plebeians and tributaries, and all the crops went to the Lord for the maintenance of his house ('casa' family)." Zurita does not use the term which we have adopted, because he is chiefly struck by the communal tenure, as exhibited in the "calpulalli." The fact of their being communal land, though set off for a special purpose, and *not owned* by the chiefs, is plain.

⁷⁸ Veytia (*Lib. III*, cap. VI, p. 125). It is superfluous to revert to the erroneous impression, that the chiefs might dispose of it.

⁷⁹ "Patrimonial Estates" are mentioned frequently, but the point is, where are they to be found. Neither the "tecpan-tlalli" nor the "tlatoca-tlalli," still less the "calpulalli," show any trace of individual ownership. "Eredad" (heirloom) is called indiscriminately "milli" and "cuemil" (*Molina Parte Ia*, p. 57). The latter is also rendered as "tierra labrada, ó camellon" (*Molina. Parte Ila*, p. 26). It thus reminds us of the "chinamiltl" or garden-bed (as the name "camellon" also implies), and reduces it to the proportion of an ordinary cultivated lot among the others contained within the area of the calpulli. It is also called "tlalli," but that is the general name for soil or ground. "Tierras o heredades de particulares, juntas en alguna vega," is called "tlal-milli." This decomposes into "tlalli" soil, and "milli." But "vega" signifies a fertile tract or field, and thus we have again the conception of communal lands, divided into lots improved by particular families, as the idea of communal tenure necessarily implies.

423 they had originally settled, the solid surface was eventually much
 311 too small for their numbers, and they themselves put an efficient
 stop to further growth thereof by converting, as we have seen else-
 where, for the purpose of defence, their marshy surroundings into
 water-sheets, through the construction of extensive causeways.⁸⁰
 While the remnants of the original "tecpantlalli" and of the
 "tlatocatlalli" still remained visible in the gardens, represented
 to us as purely ornamental, which dotted the pueblo of Mexico,⁸¹
 the substantial elements wherewith to fulfil a purpose for which
 they were no longer adequate had, in course of time, to be drawn
 from the mainland. But it was not feasible, from the nature of
 tribal condition, to extend thither by colonization. The soil was
 held there by other tribes, whom the Mexicans might well over-
 power and render tributary, but whom they could not incorporate,
 since the kinships composing these tribes could not be fused with
 their own. Outposts, however, were established on the shores, at
 the outlets of the dykes, at Tepeyacac on the north, at Iztapalapan,
 Mexicaltzinco, and at Huizilopochco to the south, but these were
 only military positions, and beyond them the territory proper of the
 Mexicans never extended.⁸² *Tribute*, therefore, had to furnish the
 means for sustaining their governmental requirements in the matter
 651 of food, and the *tribute lands* had to be distributed and divided,
 423 so as to correspond minutely to the details of their home organiza-
 tion. For this reason we see, after the overthrow of the Tecpa-
 necas, lands assigned apparently to the head war-chiefs, to the
 military chiefs of the quarters, "from which to derive some reve-
 nue, for their maintenance and that of their children."⁸³ These

⁸⁰ "Art of War" (pp. 150 and 151). L. H. Morgan ("Ancient Society," Part II, cap. VII, pp. 190 and 191).

[35] ⁸¹ Humboldt ("Essai politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne," vol. II, lib. III, cap. VIII, p. 50). Nearly all the old authors describe the public buildings as surrounded by pleasure-grounds, or ornamental gardens. It is very striking that the pueblo having been founded in 1325, and nearly a century having been spent in adding sufficient artificial sod to the originally small solid expanse settled,—the Mexicans could have been ready so soon to establish purely decorative parks within an area, every inch of which was valuable to them for subsistence alone!

⁸² The Mexican tribe proper clustered exclusively within the pueblo of Tenachtitlan. The settlements at Iztapalapan, Huizilopochco and Mexicaltzinco were but military stations—outworks, guarding the issues of the causeways to the South. Tepeyacac (Guadalupe Hidalgo) was a similar position,—unimportant as to population,—in the North. Chapultepec was a sacred spot, not inhabited by any number of people, and only held by the Mexicans for burial purposes, and on account of the springs furnishing fresh water to their pueblo.

⁸³ Tezozomoc (Cap. XV, p. 34). See note 57.

tracts were but "official tracts," and they were apart from those⁶⁵¹ reserved for the special use of the kinships. The latter may have⁴²³ furnished that *general* tribute which, although given nominally to the head war-chief still was, "for all the Mexicans in common."⁸⁴

The various classes of lands which we have mentioned were, as⁶¹⁸ far as their tenure is concerned, included in the "calpulalli" or⁴²³ lands of the kinships. Since the kin, or "calpulli," was the unit of governmental organization, it also was the unit of *landed-tenure*. Clavigero says: "The lands called altepetlalli, that is: those who belonged to the communities of the towns and villages, were divided into as many parts as there were quarters in a town, and each quarter held its own for itself, and without the least connection with the rest. Such lands could in no manner be alienated."⁸⁵ These "quarters" were the "Calpulli," hence it follows that the *con-sanguine groups* held the "altepetlalli" or *Soil of the tribe*.⁸⁶

We have, therefore, in Mexico, the identical mode of tenure of⁴²³ lands, which Polo de Ondegardo had noted in Peru and reported to the king of Spain as follows: ". . . . although the crops and other produce of these lands were devoted to the tribute, the land itself belonged to the people themselves. Hence a thing will be apparent which has not hitherto been properly understood. When any one wants land, it is considered sufficient if it can be shown that it belonged to the Inca or to the sun. But in this the Indians are treated with great injustice. For in those days they paid the tribute, and the land was theirs. . . ."⁸⁷

The expanse held and occupied by the calpulli, and therefore⁶¹⁸ called calpulalli," was possessed by the kin in *joint* tenure.⁸⁸ It⁴²³

⁸⁴ Tezozomoc (Cap. X, p. 18). Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 227). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138. "i no era en mano del Señor disponer de estos Tributos á su voluntad, porque se alteraba la Gente, i los Principales." This refers specially to the tribute by quarters "barrios.")

⁸⁵ Storia del Messico" (Lib. VII, cap. XIV).

⁸⁶ Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichim," Cap. XXXV, p. 232). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 543).

⁸⁷ "Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas, translated from the original Spanish manuscripts, and edited by Clement R. Markham." Publication of the "Hackluyt Society," 1873. "Report of Polo de Ondegardo" who was "Regidor" of Cuzco, in 1509; and a very important authority (See Prescott, "History of the Conquest of Peru," note to Book I, cap. V). Confirmed by Garcia ("El Origen de los Indios," Lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 102).

⁸⁸ Zurita ("Rapport, etc., etc., p. 50). "The chiefs of the second class are yet called Calpullee in the singular and Chinacallee in the plural. (This is evidently incorrect, since the words "Calpulli" and "Chinacalli" can easily be distinguished from each other. "Chinacalli," however, after Molina means "cercado de reto" (Parte II, p.

423 posing the tribe; but the idea of sale, barter, or conveyance or alienation of such by the kin had not been conceived.

3. Individuals, whatever might be their position or office, without any exception, held but the right to use certain defined lots for their sustenance, which right, although hereditary in the male line, was nevertheless limited to the conditions of residence within the area held by the kin, and of cultivation either by or in the name of him to whom the said lots were assigned.

4. No possessory rights to land were attached to any office or chieftaincy. As members of a kin, each chief had the use of a certain lot, which he could rent or farm to others, for his benefit.

5. For the requirements of tribal business, and of the governmental features of the kinships (public hospitality included), certain tracts were set apart as official lands, out of which the official households were supplied and sustained; but these lands and their products were totally independent from the persons or families of the chiefs themselves.

648 6. Conquest of any tribe by the Mexicans was not followed by
651 an annexation of that tribe's territory, nor by an apportionment of its soil among the conquerors. Tribute was exacted, and, for the purpose of raising that tribute (in part), special tracts were set off; the crops of which were gathered for the storehouses of Mexico.

631 7. Consequently, as our previous investigation (of the warlike
642 institutions and customs of the ancient Mexicans) have disproved the generally received notion of a military despotism prevailing among them,—so the results of this review of Tenure and distribution of lands tend to establish: "that the principle and institution of feudality did not exist in aboriginal Mexico."

life:⁷³ hence little was left to him beyond his legitimate wants.⁴⁶³ We see thus, that hardly any chance was given for the formation of a class which, resting upon the kind of occupation, might assume the position of "caste" in the organization of aboriginal Mexican society.

It is repeatedly asserted, and on high authority, that the mer-⁴⁴¹chants or traders of Mexico enjoyed particular privileges. We must premise here that merchants, in the sense of venders of other people's manufactures or products (thus living off of the difference between cost and proceeds) were known only in one way.⁷⁴ The name for merchant was "man who exchanges one

⁷³ That the artisans or mechanics contributed a portion of their wares in the shape of tribute, is amply proven. See for instance, *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, p. 530. Easily misunderstood!) This passage of Oviedo explains the action of "wrathful chief" towards the "jewellers" and "goldsmiths" at the arrival of Cortés, as related by Texozomoc, Durán, and by Sahagún. See also: *Zurita* ("Rapport, etc.," p. 223). *Bustamante* ("Texcoco, etc.," Parte III, cap. V, p. 232). *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 135). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XV, p. 480). *Bancroft* (Vol. III, cap. VI, pp. 321 and 322). ^[65]

⁷⁴ The existence of currebcy, or of money, in the shape of grains of cacao, T shaped pieces of tin or copper, and quills filled with gold dust is generally admitted. See for instance, *Prescott* ("Conquest of Mexico," Book IV, cap. II, p. 140). *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, cap. XII, pp. 381, 382, and 383). Cacao played, among the ancient Mexicans, the same role as "wampum" did among the northern Indians, for purposes of exchange, but did not go beyond it. In regard to the so-called copper or tin coins, or rather marks or checks, it is well to examine the matter more closely. *Cortés* ("Carta Quarta" in *Vedia I*, p. 111), says very positively that at Tachco, he obtained sundry small pieces of tin like very thin money ("a manera de moneda muy delgada"), which he indeed found to have been used as currency by the natives, ("halló que en dicha provincia, aun en otras, se trataba por moneda"). *Bernal Díaz* (Cap. XCII, p. 80, *Vedia II*) mentions axes of "brass, copper, and tin" ("hachas de latón y cobre y estaño"), bartered at the market place of Tlatelulco, "and before we left this square ("plaza") we met with other traders, who from what they said, sold gold in grains as they obtained it from the mines, and enclosed in quills of the geese of the land, and so thin ("asi blancos" so white) that the gold might be seen, and by the length and size of the quills they determined how many mantles or "jiquipiles" (bags of 8000 grains) of cacao they were worth, or slaves, or any other things for which they bartered it, ("ó otra qualquier cosa á que lo trocaban"). *Gomara* ("Conquista, etc.," pp. 348 and 349). "But the chief one is cacahuatl, which serves as coin. . . ." "Their buying and selling consists in exchanging one thing for another. . . ." (Id., p. 451). "No tenían moneda, teniendo mucha plata, oro y cobre, y sabiéndolo hundi y labrar, y contratando mucho en ferias y mercados. Su moneda usual y corriente es cacahuatl ó cacao." *Oviedo* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX, pp. 316, 317. Lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, p. 536) mentions only cacao as currency. *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XIV, p. 260). "It was customary at these marts ('en estos mercados') to exchange ('trocar') one thing for another, and even nowadays this is sometimes practised; but everywhere cacao is most commonly used. In other parts they used, besides, some small mantles which they call Patol-quachtili. . . . Elsewhere they used plentifully some copper coins, almost like unto ("de hechura") a Tau T, two or three fingers wide and made of thin plates ("plan-chuela") some thicker, other less thick. Where there was much gold ("donde avia mucho Oro"), small quills filled with it, circulated among the Indians, ("traían unos Castillos de ello, y andaba entre los Indios mucho de esto"). *Alonso Zuazo* ("Carta ⁴³⁶ ⁴³⁷

and important occupation, this consideration did not go beyond the persons themselves, and was in proportion to the value of the achievements.⁷⁸ 441
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⁷⁸ Prescott ("Conquest," Book I, cap. V, p. 147). Bancroft (Vol. II, cap. XII, p. 387, etc.). Bastian ("Culturlander," Vol. II, pp. 697 and 698) and others like Brasseur de Bourbourg ("Histoire des Nations civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique Centrale," 1857-1859, Paris, Vol. III, p. 612, etc.), have given more or less detailed descriptions of the Mexican mode of traffic and commerce. Among the older sources, and those which necessarily formed the basis of my imperfect sketch, the leading position is occupied by Father Sahagun (Lib. IX, Vol. II, "Historia general de la Cosas de Nueva-España). From these statements we gather, what has already been said (note 56), that the Tlatilulca were the leading traders (Cap. I, pp. 335, 336), and that they were organized and directed by particular chiefs of their own. The venerable father is not very clear in the matter of these particular officers, as (Cap. I) he names first two (p. 335), then five (p. 337, cap. II), and lastly (Lib. X, cap. XVI, p. 40), one: "Señor ó Principal entre ellos," whom he calls: "puchtecatlatilolac, ó axótecatl, que es tanto, como si dijésemos que es gobernador de los mercaderes, y estos dos nombres y otros muchos que están puestos en la letra, se atribuyen al que es mayor principal gobernador ó señor ó que es casi padre y madre de todos los mercaderes." (Lib. IX, cap. III, pp. 348 and 349), he speaks of "the principals," "los mercaderes viejos" as "speakers of the traders" "pochtecatlatloque." Further on (Cap. X, p. 372), he speaks of the "pochtecatlatilolac" as the principals. We must infer from this that there were a number of these leading traders, and not one chief of the "caste." This evidence or rather indication of a possible separate organization is not noticed by Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. XXVII, p. 586), who simply speaks of the "old traders who remained at the pueblo." Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXXVIII, pp. 526 and 527) merely mentions the older and the younger traders, but says nothing of a peculiar organization. It is singular, besides, that those authors or more properly chroniclers, in whose annals of Mexican warfare the Mexican traders play a very conspicuous part, make no mention at all of this peculiar caste-like organization which Sahagun seems to imply. Those authors are Durán and Tezomoc. (In this instance I need not resort to detailed quotations, since the references in their works are far too numerous). Furthermore, Zurita, who is very detailed in his "Rapport," or rather as the full title has it "Breve y Sumaria Relacion de los Señores, y maneras y diferencias que habia de ellas en la Nueva España," while enumerating carefully the different kinds of chiefs and officers, is rather reticent about any such organization of the merchants. Compare for instance, p. 223, where he distinctly says that, they had a chief to treat with the "Lords and governors" in their name, and p. 240, where he incidentally mentions a "chief of the merchants" only. Sahagun goes further yet, however, in stating (Lib. IX, cap. V, pp. 336 and 337), that the merchants had their own jurisdiction over themselves, apart from that of the tribe or kin: "y los señores mercaderes que regian á los otros, tenían por su jurisdiccion y judicatoria, y si alguno de estos hacian algun delito, no los llevaban delante de los senadores á que ellos los juzgasen; sino que estos mismos que eran señores de los otros mercaderes juzgaban las causas de todos por si; si alguno incurria en pena de muerte ellos le sentenciaban, y mataban ó en la cárcel, ó en su casa, ó en otra parte segun que lo tenían de costumbre." This he distinctly applies to the "pochtecas" of Tlatilulco, and to the time when "wrathy chief" (Montezuma the last), was at the head of the Mexicans. Not content with this he relates (Cap. II, pp. 330-342), how the merchants of Tlatilulco alone conquered several tribes, subjecting them to tribute for the benefit of the Mexicans. In all these statements Father Sahagun stands quite alone, and, if not directly contradicted, he is, at least so unsupported as to make his reports rather doubtful so far as they concern the organization and power of these traders as a distinct class. The story has a suspiciously Tlatilulcan coloring. Compare note 58. It is interesting to note, in connection with this, that Sahagun derived the information, the which he laid down in his "Historia general," almost exclusively

"tlatocan" as a consequence of the formation of the tribe. Crimes³⁶⁸ committed at such localities were punished with unusual severity,⁶²¹ because they were offences desecrating neutral ground which was⁶⁹³

plainly stated by Torguemenos (Lib. XIV, cap. XIII, p. 555), and it would even appear as if, notwithstanding the importance attached to Tlatelulco by many authors, that the principal market was the one mentioned by this author as "el que está en la Población de San Juan . . .," and consequently the proper "tianquiz" of the Mexican tribe. This could only be neutral ground, over which no single kin exercised any authority. It may have been different in regard to the "tianquiz" of Tlatelulco; at least the following indications of Durán (Cap. XXXIV, p. 376) deserve full attention: "Fecho esto mandó el rey que aquella plaza y mercado que ellos ganaron, pues los tlatelulcas no tenían mas tierra, que fuese repartido entre los señores y que la parte que á cada uno cupiese, que de todos los tlatelulcas que allí hiciesen asiento, de todo lo que vendiesen les diesen alcauala, de cinco uno, y así se repartió la plaza entre todos, de donde cada uno oabran alcauala de lo que en el lugar que le aua canido se vendia." The above is not quite definite enough, because the "plaza y mercado" of which the friar speaks, is evidently the one mentioned by him (p. 366): "y encerrándoles en la plaza de su mercado, haciéndose los tlatelulcas fuertes, no dexaban entrar á la plaza ninguno de los Mexicanos en ella," whereas he says (p. 376): "que allí hiciesen asiento," as if the place was built over. The fact that the "tianquiz" of Tlatelulco was "distributed among the Mexicans" is further asserted by Tezozomoc ("Crónica Mexicana," Cap. XLVI, p. 75, Kingsborough, Vol. 9): "Axayaca mandó tambien se hiciese repartimiento del tianquiz de Tlatilolco á los Mexicanos, y comenzaron á medir primera suerte Axayaca, luego á Zihuacoatl Tlacaeleltzin, luego par su orden Tlacochcalcatli, y á todos los capitanes, que fué tenido el tianquiz en mas de sí ganaran cien pueblos." It would therefore appear, if we interpret this "distribution" as it should be done, namely: as a division of spoils among the kins, that the latter claimed a share of tribute from the traffic or barter going on in the "tianquiz" of Tlatelulco, a fact corroborated besides by that other statement of Durán (p. 366): "El rey le mandó, que pues aulan á los traidores á su corona real, que de allí adelante queria y era su voluntad que aquella parcialidad Mexicana del tlatelulco le fuesen tributarios y pecheros como las demas ciudades y provincias, . . ." This, and the uncertainty as to which tianquiz is always meant, favors the assumption that Gomara ("Conquista," p. 349, Vedia 1) mentions Tlatelulco when he says: "Los que venden pagan algo del asiento al Rey, ó por alcabala ó porque los guarden de ladrones." Cortés ("Carta Segunda," pp. 33, 35 and 34) does not mention it, for the words: "donde están personas por guardas y que recibien certum quid de cada cosa que entra" do not apply to the market which he describes as having visited and which, in spite of Bernál-Diez ("Hist. Verdadera," Cap. XCII, p. 86) I still believe to have been that of Tenuchtitlan, and not that of Tlatelulco. Cortés is strictly followed by Oriedo (Lib. XXXIII, cap. X, pp. 369 and 361) whereas Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 185) copies Gomara.

I have dwelt thus long on this question because it disposes of the notion that the "government" of Mexico levied a tax on the traffic of the members of the tribe. This tax limits itself to a tribute paid by the subjected tribe of Tlatelulco alone, because, as Durán says (p. 376) "they had no more soil than that of their tianquiz." This tax was distributed among the kins, like any other tribute. But it does not follow that therefore the kins exercised judicial power over the Tlatelulcan market. This power either remained with the Tlatelulcan tribe, or devolved upon the officers of the tribe of Tenuchtitlan. The former is more likely, although the latter might also have been the case since the Tlatelulcans were treated with great severity, as traitors and outcasts (Durán, Cap. XXXIV, pp. 369-371), in which case the tribal authorities would have had to punish them.

That the central or tribal "teocalli" and the courts surrounding it were committed to the care of the tribe, as representing all the kins, on equal terms, in the share which each had in it, is self-evident, and needs no further proof.

643 of its judicial decisions, although, as will be seen hereafter, this part of the duty was properly assigned to other officers.

The "Cihuacohuatl" was responsible to the council for the careful housing of the tribute received, as far as it was applied to tribal requirements, and for the faithful distribution of the remainder²¹⁹ among the kins. This, and the fact that he kept the 651 paintings recording the tribute, has caused Bernal Diez de Castillo 212 to call him "mayordomo mayor," or general Intendant, and "keeper of the tribute" as we have already mentioned.²²⁰

How the "snake-woman" was the actual associate and colleague of that other chieftain who, after having been originally principal war-chief of the Mexicans, became at last commander of the confederate forces, we have already noticed.²²¹ We shall yet recur-

²¹⁹ This results from the authority exercised by the Zihuacoatl over the captives in war. I have already alluded to this feature, and now, but recapitulate the following quotations: *Durán* (Cap. XIX, pp. 172 and 173). Also *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXIX, p. 43, Cap. XL, pp. 64 and 65, Cap. LXII, p. 104, Cap. LXVI, pp. 110, 111, Cap. LXX, p. 119), etc., etc.

²²⁰ *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCI, p. 87, Vedia II): "Acuérdome que era en aquel tiempo su mayordomo mayor un gran cacique que le pusimos por nombre Tapia, y tenía cuenta de todas las rentas que le traían al Montezuma, con sus libros hechos de su papel, que es dice amatl, y tenía destos libros una gran casa dellos."

²²¹ There is no doubt in regard to the equality of rank, though the duties were somewhat different. "*Códice Ramírez*," (p. 66): "Concluidas las obsequias, el capitán general Tlacacel el que todavía era vivo, juntó los del consejo supremo Estos juntos . . . trataron de elegir nuevo Rey, y todos se encaminaban al valeroso Tlacacel el, el qual como otras veces, nunca quiso admitir el Reyno, dando por razon que más útil era á la República que hubiese Rey y coadjutor que le ayudasse como era él, y no solo el Rey Pero no por esto dejaba de tener tanta y mas autoridad que el mismo Rey, porque le respetaban y honraban, servian y tributaban como á Rey, y con mas temor, porque no se hazia en todo el Reyno mas que lo que él mandaba. Y así usaba tiara y insignias de Rey, saliendo con ellas todas las vezes que el mismo Rey las acababa." (P. 67). when the old Zihuacoatl died, his successor was elected: "con todas las preeminencias que su padre tenía." The "*Fragmento No. 1*" ("*Noticias relations al Reinado de Motecuzuma Ilhuicamian*") is very positive also, almost always mentioning both officers together. *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, p. 215): "Ordenóse que solo el rey y su coadjutor Tlacacel el pudiese traer capatos en la casa Real y que ningún grande entrase calçado en palacio, so pena de la vida, y solo ellos pudiesen traer capatos por la ciudad, y ningún otro" (Cap. XXXII, p. 353): "Tlacacel el respondió: qué mas honra puedo yo tener que la que hasta aquí é tenido? qué mas señorío puedo tener del que tengo y é tenido? pues ninguna cosa los reyes pasados an hecho sin mi parecer y consejo en todos los negocios civiles y criminales . . ." (Cap. LXI, p. 336), the speech of Tlacacel el there reported is rather too lengthy to copy. Its substance is contained in the closing words: "luego rey soy y por tal me auéis tenido; pues qué mas rey quereis que sea? y así como así tengo de tener el mismo oficio y exercicio, hasta que me muera Sosegaos, hijos míos, y hacee mi voluntad, que ya yo soy rey, y rey me será hasta qué muera; . . ." (Cap. XLIV, p. 357): "el viejo Tlacacel el, á la mesma manera, al qual, dice esta ystoria, respetaban como á rey;" (Cap. XLVIII, p. 381): "el nombre de Cihuacoatl, que el padre tenía, el qual era ditado de mucha grandeza heredado de los dioses; y así desde aquel día le llamaban Tlil-potoqui Cihuacoatl, que era sobre nombre diuino." *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap.

642 We have already stated that the tribe was a voluntary association of kins for mutual protection. Though this was undoubtedly the original purpose, it becomes evident that, in course of time and as a result of success in warfare, the tribe, as a military organization, grew into a cluster for procuring and increasing subsistence.²⁸⁸ This was achieved by gathering booty in successful raids, and by imposing tribute upon tribes whose military power had been overcome in such dashes and forays.

642 Previous to the formation of the confederacy, but few tribes had
648 been conquered by the Mexicana.²⁸⁹ In fact, it was the nearly equally balanced power of the Pueblos occupying the lake basin, that made the formation of that confederacy possible. Such a course was necessary to prevent them from destroying each other for the benefit of expectant neighbors.²⁹⁰ But when once this confederacy was formed, then their joint efforts were directed to conquest, and to the acquisition of the means of subsistence through tribute. The imposition of tribute was a military measure, so, also, its collection was in the hands of the military branch of the tribal government. This is evident from the fact that the kins had delegated to the tribe all authority over outside [43] matters.²⁹¹ Hence the "chief of men" became the official head of tribute-gatherers.²⁹²

²⁸⁸ "Art of War" (pp. 96, 97 and 98, also notes).

²⁸⁹ The number and names of these tribes are yet undefined. The specifically Mexican sources insisting upon a conquest of Texcoco (by force of arms) by the Mexicana, it follows that, according to the *Códice Ramírez* (pp. 51 to 61), the tribes subjected before that supposed event, were the Tzotpaneca, the Xochimilca, and those of Cuiclahuac, or the settlements to the west and southwest. Durán (Cap. IX to XV) and *Tzozomoc* (Cap. VIII to XX) concur; so does, of course, *Acosta* (Lib. VII. cap. XII to XV). The *Códex Mendoza* (plates V and VI) adds to the above the pueblos of Chalco, Acolhuacan and of Quauhnhuac (Cuernavaca). If we compare it with the Texcoco tradition, as reported by *Ixtlilxochitl* ("Hist. des Chichimeques," Cap. XXXI, p. 216) we notice that it is claimed for that tribe, that it assisted the Mexicans in the conquest of Xochimilco and Cuiclahuac, although the formal confederation took place (according to the same authority, Cap. XXXII) some years later. According to *Torguemade* (Lib. II, cap. XLII, pp. 148, etc.), *Velasco* (Parte IIa, Trat. I^a, cap. XIV, p. 261), the Xochimilcas were conquered by the confederates. According to *Feyta* ("Historia antigua," Lib. III, cap. I, p. 156), the Texcocoans subjected Xochimilco. *Clavigero* (Lib. IV, cap. V, p. 255) agrees with the Mexican version.

²⁹⁰ "Códice Ramírez" (p. 61).

²⁹¹ This resulted from the constitution of the tribe, as an association of kins for mutual protection and sustenance.

[45] ²⁹² *Tzozomoc* (Cap. X, p. 18): "y aunque envian a dario i Tzotzotl era para todos los Mexicanos en comun." The fact that the gathering of tribute was directly controlled by the "chief of men" is so generally admitted that it hardly needs any further proof. *Ramírez de Fuenleal* ("Lettre," etc., p. 248, *1er Recueil*) ascribes the gathering of tribute to an officer whom he calls "tecuicacalcetli." This should be, properly,

Whenever any tribe, with or without a struggle, yielded to the warlike power of the Mexicans and their associates, the amount and kind of articles to be delivered, as tribute, at fixed periods, was at once determined between "the parties."²⁹³ For the faithful performance of that contract, the vanquished stood in daily peril of their lives;²⁹⁴ and in order to watch them constantly, and to regulate the delivery and transmission of the tribute, special officers were maintained among the conquered pueblos by their conquerors. These officers were called "gatherers of the crops," *calpixqui*. Each one of the three confederates sent its own "calpixqui" among the tribes which had become its exclusive prey, and where, as sometimes occurred, one pueblo paid tribute to all three confederates, it had to submit to the residence in its midst, of as many representative gatherers of duties.²⁹⁵

"*tlacochcalcatl-tecuhtli*." But we know that the duties of the latter officer were quite different. Still, the collection of tribute being a branch of military life, the mistake is easily accounted for. The military chronicles of the Mexican tribe teem with instances where the stewards are described as under direct orders of the "chief of men," as in *Escrit* (pp. 66, 69, 70). It may also be inferred from the exaggerated statements about the tribute system among the Tescucana, contained in *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimeques*," Cap. XXXV, pp. 239-241).

²⁹³ I refer to the following passages of *Texosomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap. IX, p. 14, Capture of Azcapotzalco; Cap. XV, p. 24, Cuyucan; XVII, p. 28, Xochimilco; XVIII, p. 30, Cuiclahuac; XXVI, p. 40, Chalco; XXVII, p. 41, Tepenaca and Tecamahualco; XXIX, pp. 44 and 45, Tlacoac and Tzacpan; XXXII, p. 50, Ahuilizapan, and the Totonaca; XXXVIII, p. 52, Coaxtlanhuacan; XXXVIII, p. 61, Huaxaca; Cap. LXi, p. 163, Chiapan and Xilotepec; Cap. LXV, p. 110, Cuextlan; Cap. LXXII, p. 122, Teloloapan; LXXVI, p. 130, Tecuantepec and others; LXXIX, p. 136, Xoconuchco; LXXXIV, p. 148, Nopallan; LXXXVIII, Xaltepec; XCI, p. 150, Quetzaltepec). *Durán* (Cap. IX, p. 77; X, p. 94; XII, p. 112; XVII, p. 151; XVIII, p. 150; XIX, p. 171; XXI, p. 165; XXII, p. 191; XXIV, p. 205; XXXIV, p. 269; XLI, p. 321; XLVI, p. 373, etc.). These passages fully illustrate the manner in which the tribute was imposed on the vanquished, at the close of a successful foray. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimeques*," Cap. XXXVIII, pp. 271 to 273). *Sahagún* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXIV, p. 318): "Habiendo pacificado la provincia, luego los señores del campo repartían tributos a los que habían sido conquistados. . . ."

²⁹⁴ *Durán* (Cap. LIII, p. 423). Also the complaints of the Indians of Comopolual and Quahuiztlan (Totonacas) (on the coast), to Cortés, about the dread in which they continually stood of being overrun again by the Mexicans and their confederates. (Cortés "*Carta Segunda*," p. 13, Vedia I), *Bernal Díaz* (Cap. XLV, p. 40; XLVI, p. 41, Vedia II), "*Real Cédula*, etc." (Col. de Doc's II, p. 12).

²⁹⁵ This results from the "articles of agreement" of the confederacy. See besides: *Escrit* (p. 67). *Hernando Pimental Nezahualcoyotl* ("*Memorial dirigido al rey, etc.*" "*Geografía de las Lenguas*," Orozco y Berra pp. 244 and 245) also states: "The pueblos whose tributes were distributed among Mexico and Tescuco and Tacuba were the following: Coaxtlanhuacan, Cuauhtueco, Cotlaxtlan, Avilapan, Tepenaca." Against this there stands the version of *Sahagún* (Lib. XII, cap. XLI, p. 80): "Luego allí habló otro principal que se llamaba Mixcoatllyotlacansincoztzin, dile al señor capitán, que cuando vivía Mocthecasoma el estillo que se tenía en conquistar, era este, que llaman los Mexicanos, y los Tescucanos, y los de Tlacupan, y los de las Chinampas, todos

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448 Thus the Mexicans had a number of such officers scattered
 451 among tributary settlements. The "chief of men" controlled
 their actions, but his power did not extend over the "calpixca"
 of the tribes of Tescuco and Tlacopan. He could not even
 appoint the stewards sent to dwell among the tributary foreign-
 ers,²⁶⁶ this power being vested in the council alone.²⁶⁷ Such an
 office was by no means a post of honor and enjoyment. On the
 contrary, there was no more responsible or dangerous duty within
 or without the tribe. The "calpixqui" while he had not the
 slightest authority to meddle with the affairs of the tribe where he
 lived,²⁶⁸ was expected to watch closely the dispositions and incli-

justas iban sobre el pueblo ó provincia que querian conquistar, y despues que lo
 habian conquistado, luego se veirian á sus casas, y á sus pueblos, y despues venian
 los señores de los pueblos que habian sido conquistados, y traian en tributo de oro y
 de piedras preciosas, y de plumas ricas, y todo lo daban á Moctezuma, y así todo
 él era venia á su poder." This plain and very natural statement, from a Tlathilcoan
 chief who afterwards became "gobernador" of Tlathilco (*Sahagun*, Lib. VIII,
 cap. II, p. 324), has been twisted by Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. CII, p. 573), so as to
 say among other things: "and they had the tributes gathered at Mexico, and here it
 was distributed among the three Lords according to the directions given by him of
 Mexico." Torquemada has, in this instance, evidently changed the text of his prede-
 cessor. There is also an undeniable confusion here between booty and tribute. The
 latter had to be divided among the conquerors while they were yet together; the latter
 occurred regularly afterwards, and hence did not need to go through the hands of
 Mexicans again. The story of Torquemada is corroborated by *Axtlahuac* ("Hist.
 de Chichimequism," Cap. XXXIX, p. 382), who clearly says that "Fasting Wolf" put
 stewards only when the tribute belonged to his tribe, but that the whole tribute was
 brought to Mexico and there "the agents of the three chiefs divided it among them-
 selves. Finally, we have the chosen statements of *Bautista de Pineda* (pp. 314, 347,
 in *las Relaciones de Mr. Ternaux*).

266 The "Calpixqui" was a permanent office, not a temporary duty or mission;
 consequently its incumbents could not be appointed by a single war-chief. There is
 evidence to that effect. According to *Durán* (Cap. XVIII, p. 184), after those of
 Tepetons had been conquered, "Chimacohuac" placed a steward in their midst: "Mirá
 que en ello no aya falta al quibra; y para que esto mejor se cumpla, se quiere poner un
 449 gobernador de los señores Mexicanos, al qual avia de obedecer y tener en lugar de la
 real persona, el qual se llama Coarnach, y con este se podria ir en porventura á vuestras
 tierras y ciudades porque al rey no le podia hablar." (Cap. XXI, pp. 184 and 187). The
 steward for Coahuilcan was chosen by the "Snake-woman;" or at least his choice was
 proclaimed by that officer. (Cap. XXIII, p. 189): "Acusado el sacrificio y despedidos
 los glápidos, Tlacotal, con consejo del rey, envió un virrey á Coahuilcan para
 que recibiese cargo de aquella provincia y de los tributos reales, el qual se llamaba
 Cuernachitl. . . ."

267 This results from the fact that the "Chimacohuac" announced the newly chosen
 "Calpixqui." In this case he plainly acted as *foreman* of the council, proclaiming
 their choice.

268 I have already, in note 4, disposed of the statements of *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap.
 XXIV, p. 333): "y luego segun gobernadores y oficiales que presidian en aquella
 provincia, no de los naturales de ella, sino de los que lo habian conquistado." In further
 explanation thereof, I beg to call attention to some statements of the interpreters of
 the *Codex Mendoza* (plates XX and XXII): "Los pueblos agnados en los dos planos
 siguientes, mandados aquí, son diez y ocho pueblos, segun que están entablados. Por

nations of those by whom he was surrounded and to report forth⁴⁸ with any suspicious movements or utterances that came to his⁴⁹ notice. Thus he appeared, in the eyes of the people among whom he resided, as a spy, whose reports might, at any time, bring down upon them the wrath of their conquerors. Again, it was his duty to control the bringing in of the articles promised as tribute, at stated times. Consequently he was the hateful tax-gatherer, the living monument of their defeat with all its unfortu-

los Señores de México tenían puesto un gobernador llamado Petlacaleatl, aunque en cada un pueblo tenían puesto un Calpixque, que es como Mayordomo, que tenían à cargo de hacer recoger las rentas y tributos que los dichos Señores tributaban al Señorío de México y todos los dichos mayordomos acudían al dicho Petlacaleatl, como su gobernador;" (plates XXII and XXIII): ".... tenían puestos Calpixques, en cada uno de ellos, y en lo mas principal dominaba sobre todos ellos un gobernador, para que los mantuviese en paz y justicia, y los hiciese cumplir con tributos y porque no se rebelasen;" (plates XXIV and XXV): "Y á que fuesen bien regidos y gobernados, los Señores de México en cada uno de ellos tenían puestos Calpixques, y sobre todos los Calpixques un gobernador, persona principal de México, y así mismo los Calpixques eran Mexicanos, lo qual se hacia á probanza por los dichos Señores y á seguridad, para que no los rebelasen, y á que las administrasen justicia y oyesen en pella." It follows from the above that the "Governors" were placed, not so much over the tribes, as over the "calpixes" themselves, and indeed the "Petlacaleatl," "man of the house of chiefs," was the head-steward, to whom all the other stewards had to direct their consignments of tribute. Consequently, it is not to be understood as "governor of a province," but only "governor of the stewards," which is totally different.

Besides, there is positive evidence to the effect, that the Mexicans and their associates never interfered with the autonomy of tributary tribes. Andrés de Tópila ("Relación," etc., p. 202): "Los que tomaba de guerra dexaban seguras sus cosas, que quiere decir, tributos como esclavos. En estos pueblos mayordomos y recogedores y recaudadores; y aunque los señores mandaban su gente, era debajo de la mano doctos de México. . . . Barba ("Report," etc., p. 65): "Les chefs, restant seigneurs comme avant la guerre, conservaient la juridiction civile et criminelle dans toute l'étendue de leurs domaines."

When the tribes of the gulf coast (the Totonacas, etc.) arose against the Mexicans, murdering the stewards who had been placed among them, they were speedily overcome again, and when they attributed their revolt to the intrigues of their head-chiefs, asking the Mexicans to punish them for it, the Mexicans replied, according to Durán (Cap. XXIV, p. 204): "nosotros no tenemos autoridad para matar á nadie sino es en guerra: vuestros señores no han parecido en esta guerra ni los hemos visto, pero no por eso se comparten, pose vuestros razones y decos y lo que pedia, se dirá al rey nuestro señor Montezuma, y él mandará que se execute lo que nosotros dexaremos ordenado, y luego en mas dilacion los traeré aquí á todos este nosotros y á muy buen recaudo." Afterwards: "enviaron á Caxtlanochil y á Tlilanochil, que eran de los mayores oydeses del consejo supremo, para que executasen aquella justicia." The two chiefs were cruelly butchered (p. 206). This story is also related by Tlaximocan (Cap. XXV, pp. 25 and 26), and it is evidently the instance referred to and illustrated by the Codex Mendoza (plate LXVII). The foregoing tells us that even in a case of dangerous treachery and rebellion such as the above, the Mexicans did not claim the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the conquered tribe, of their own accord, but that it required the positive request of that tribe to cause them to act in the premises. Furthermore, the position of the "chief of men" as military executor is clearly defined: "y él mandará que se execute lo que nosotros dexaremos ordenado." A very important statement!

648 male results. It certainly required men of capacity and experience
 651 to fill such a position, and we need not wonder, therefore, if the
 "calpixtes," whom Cortés met among the Totonacas of the coast,
 were the distinctive tokens of chiefs.³⁰⁰

648 The conditions of tribute were various. Some tribes delivered
 651 their contributions every eighty days, whilst others sent them in
 202 annually.³⁰¹ In most cases, they had to be carried to Mexico-
 [727] Tenochtitlan by the tributaries, or at least, the delivery was at
 their charge.³⁰² This was done frequently by prisoners of war,
 made by the tributary pueblo and sent as part of the tribute
 itself.³⁰³ The "calpixqui" superintended this intercourse, he
 verified the articles received, and again dispatched them, properly,
 to the "seat and home" of the Mexicans. All this necessitated

³⁰⁰ Bernal Díaz de Casteño (Cap. XLVI, pp. 40 and 41).

³⁰¹ The most complete record of tributes which we possess, until now, is contained in the so-called *Códex Mendoza* (Parte Segunda, plates XIX to LVII, inclusive). A full discussion of the multifarious details thereof is impossible here. It would require an essay by itself, which, however instructive it might be, would largely exceed the limits of this paper. Of course, not all the authorities agree with them. I merely refer, in addition, to Durán (Cap. XXV); Ovando (Lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, pp. 268, 6 and 7); Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XV); *Relación del "Rey de los Chichimeques"* (Cap. XXXV), the latter as well as Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LIII, pp. 267 and 268) confining himself to the Totonacas and their tributaries exclusively. See furthermore, Barba (pp. 240, 247 and 248), *Memorias de Pineda* (Letter, p. 267). It is also interesting to consult the statements gathered on the tribute question, from tribes subject to the Mexicans. See, on Chichimecos, *Proy Domingo de la Asunción* (Letter dated: Chichimeco, 20 Sept., 1564, 3d "Remedio" of Mr. Torquemada, pp. 222 and 224); on Matlatzincas, Barba (pp. 261-267), Herrera (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVIII, p. 140). The latter mostly copies from Barba. Finally, much information as to the details can be gathered from the "*Códex Mendoza*" (pp. 40 and 41), and especially from the traditions on the *Mayas* and *Guaymas* of the Mexicans contained in the specifically Mexican sources already quoted.

³⁰² *Tenochtitlan* (Cap. XXVII, p. 41, Cap. XXXIII, p. 22, Cap. LXI, p. 262, etc., etc.), Barba (Cap. LXIX, p. 171): "Fue así que lo más de llevar a México vuestros tesoros. Ellos respondieron que los platos de la Nueva alia y cerullas, . . ." (Cap. LXII, p. 261): "y que se obligaron a traer a México. . . ." (Cap. LXIV, p. 268, Cap. XXV, p. 262, etc., etc.).

567 ³⁰³ Durán (Cap. XXV, pp. 112 and 113). Such female slaves became concubines. The various tribes exchanged also their prisoners of war, one tribe buying (or exchanging for products of the soil or for manufactures) of another those prisoners which it had received as such tribute, and also presenting each other on solemn occasions with such prisoners. There are many illustrations of this to be found. Thus the markets of aboriginal Mexico also had "slaves," for sale, who were obtained in this manner. They were not numerous, and did not form a class, only an object of medicine subject to exchange and barter. Cortés ("Cortés Segunda," p. 22, *Ved. I*) only speaks of "bonded people" standing in the markets or "captives" ready to "bind" themselves—"to let." But Bernal Díaz de Casteño (Cap. XCII, p. 66, *Ved. II*), evidently describes such unfortunate people: "é traidos a México en unas varas largas, con collares a los pescancos porque no se los boyesen, y otros dejaban caídas." The same author (Cap. XLVI, p. 41) mentions the demand made upon the "Totonacas" of the coast by the Mexican "calpixtes" for "twenty Indians of both sexes to pacify their Gods therewith." This is confirmed in a general way by Cortés ("Cortés Segunda," p. 14, *Ved. I*).

assistants at his disposal — runners — who not only accompanied ⁶⁴⁸ the convoys of tribute, but through whom a regular communication ⁶⁵¹ might be kept up with the Mexican tribe. On the strength of this, ²⁶² it has been fancied that not only a road-system analogous to that of the Romans, pervaded the entire area of actual Mexico, but that a perfect postal system was in full and successful operation. In regard to the first assumption we beg to refer to the letter of the Licentiate Salmeron, dated Mexico, 18th August, 1581, and directed to the council of the Indies: ³⁸³ "I believe that all ⁴⁸⁷ through the land roads should be opened which would be practicable both for beasts of burthen and for carts. It would greatly ²⁰² increase the security of our possessions. Since the Indians had ⁴⁹¹ no beasts of burthen, their paths were straight and narrow, and so direct that they would not deviate an inch in order to avoid climbing the most rugged mountains." Over these Indian trails, where occasionally heavy culverts of stone, filled up gaps and spanned narrow ravines, ³⁸⁴ the tribute was forwarded to the pueblo of Tenochtitlan, and the necessary runners moved swiftly, to and fro, as occasion required. But there was no regularity in this intercourse. There were no relays, and the Indian messenger relied, in order to traverse the wide belts of waste lands between tribe and tribe, upon his own endurance and upon the bag of provisions which he carried along. ³⁸⁵

On solemn occasions, the convoys of tribute were not merely ⁶⁵¹ escorted by runners and watchmen detailed for that purpose by ⁴⁸⁹ the "cacipitqui," but that officer, himself, accompanied them and entered Mexico-Tenochtitlan at their head. ³⁸⁶ The articles were carried to the "Tecpan" and then the duties of the "chief of men" in regard to tribute in general ended. For this tribute was not due to him, but to the tribe, and it was the tribal representa-

³⁸³ "Sesud Sesudil di Placer en lo Indico" (H. Ternaux-Compans, pp. 181 and 182).

³⁸⁴ The collection of Lord Kingsborough has, among others, the pictures of so-called bridges. Anyone can see at a glance that they are mere heavy culverts. Mr. H. H. Swamy ("Koffee House," Vol. IV, p. 288) figures a bridge at Huapula, but his argument in favor of its being an aboriginal construction appears to me very unsatisfactory. The masonry covering the mound at Matlatzucan shows, according to his own words (Id. p. 288): "there is no evidence that the arch was intentionally self-supporting."

³⁸⁵ We must always discriminate between delegates, entrusted with certain business to transact, and therefore also clothed with a certain authority, and mere runners. ("Correos"—"Yekthen Ahuani" *México*, I, p. 86, from "Isichua"—quick and "Ahuanil"—he who goes on an errand, II, pp. 38 and 113). The latter are very well described by Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. I, pp. 285 and 286), although he prepossesses things at regular intervals. This was not the case, as the march of Cortés amply proves.

³⁸⁶ "Códice Mendoza" (p. 62).

● 651
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tives to whom it was delivered.³⁰⁷ If the gathering of tribute thus required a set of officers necessarily placed beneath the orders of the military chieftain, another set was needed for its preservation and judicious distribution. If the one consisted of stewards dwelling outside of the pueblo, the other was composed exclusively of home-stewards. Every convoy was therefore "consigned" to a proper officer, whose duty it was to receive it and then abide the directions of his superiors as to its apportionment.³⁰⁸

[64] We have already mentioned the "Cihnacohuatl" as the officer,
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who was responsible to the council for the administration of the stores and the proper distribution thereof, though he had beneath him another officer, to whom this duty was really and practically assigned. Torquemada and those who have followed his school, call this subordinate "great crop-gatherer," "Hueycalpíxqui,"³⁰⁹ whereas Tezozomoc and Durán apply to him the title of "man of the house of chests" "Petlascalcatl"³¹⁰ In both cases, however, he is represented as "chief steward," to whom all the others should render account. He superintended the distribution of the tribute,³¹¹ and to him the kins came for their share—perhaps the largest of all. Unfortunately, we are unable to establish the principles upon which the division took place. All that we know is, that the tribe received one portion and the kins or "calpulli" the other, and that the "man of the house of chests," under whose eyes the distribution took place, afterwards looked to those stores, in particular, which were reserved for the tribe, i. e.: for the demands of the tribal government.³¹² Therefore, the "man of the house of chests" frequently appears to be under the direct orders of the "chief of men," who could apply to him, more particularly, for such articles as were required for the exercise of tribal hospitality including gifts, and for displays of finery on particularly solemn occasions.³¹³ It is true that, as we have elsewhere shown, particular tracts of land, "teopan-tlalli," were reserved among tributary tribes for the demands of the official

³⁰⁷ *Tenexome* (Cap. X, p. 18), *Bernal* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 136).

³⁰⁸ *Tenexome* (Cap. XXXII, p. 81): "A los dichos pueblos fui un mayordomo para cobrar este tributo, como para todos los demás pueblos, que en México havia un mayordomo, y oyo en el mismo pueblo para mayor angustia y rescaballo."

³⁰⁹ *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. VI, pp. 344, 345), copied by Volancourt (Paris II, *Trat. II*, cap. I, pp. 570 and 571), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. X, pp. 407 and 408).

³¹⁰ Also by the *Códex Mendoza* (interpretation to plates XX, XXI, etc.).

³¹¹ See note 300, also *Tenexome* and *Durán*.

³¹² This is so frequently mentioned by *Tenexome*, that I forbear detailed quotations.

³¹³ *Tenexome* ("Oráculos Místicos," sundry places, too numerous to refer to).

households,³¹⁴ still, on many occasions, whether festive or in the ⁶⁴⁷ hour of need, the crops raised thereon would not be sufficient, and ⁶⁵¹ ● thus other stores were laid up and held for prudential reasons.³¹⁵ Over these stores the "Petlacacatl" presided. This officer was, in all probability, appointed by the council, and he was account-^[212] able in the first place to the "Cihuscobuati," who kept a register or list of the articles received as well as of their apportionment. These rude paintings on prepared skin, or tissue, have given rise to the fable that "archives" existed at the aboriginal pueblos of ^[217] Mexico, Tescuco, and Tlacopan.³¹⁶

The stores required for worship and for the support of the "medicine-men" were, as far as the central or tribal "house of God" was concerned, also, taken from this tribute, and assigned to the "medicine-men" according to their need. But the bulk of the tribute, presumably, went to the kins, who apportioned it among their members, after reserving the necessary quota for their government and for worship. In this manner the proceeds of tribal association finally reached the individual,—not through the tribe unless he was an outcast, but through the kin,—and thus the latter again appears as the working unit of organized society, even in the vital matter of subsistence.

The procuring of subsistence, by means of warfare, is the widest field of tribal action known to aboriginal Mexico. It links together kin and tribe, and furnishes a *raison d'être* for the highest known form of tribal society—the confederacy.

After what has been said in this and the preceding essays, it is ⁶⁴⁸ superfluous to recur, in detail, to the confederacy formed by the three "Nahuatl" tribes, of Mexico, Tescuco and Tlacopan. Its "articles of agreement" have been stated elsewhere; and we know the prominent position, in a military point of view, occupied by the Mexican tribe in this partnership, formed, as it was, for the purpose of war and plunder. All that remains for us to emphasize is the fact, that this inter-tribal connection in the Mexican valley did not extend further than a tri-partite association for the aforesaid purposes. There was no interference on the part of the conquerors, in the affairs of the conquered, no attempt gradually

³¹⁴—*Temple of Lords* (pp. 439 and 446).

³¹⁵—See the concurrent reports about the great drought, while "Wrathful chief who shoots arrows heavenward" ("Monticuma Ihuicamina") was "chief of men."

³¹⁶—This very interesting and important question will soon be fully discussed by a very competent authority. I consequently forbear entering into any examination thereof.